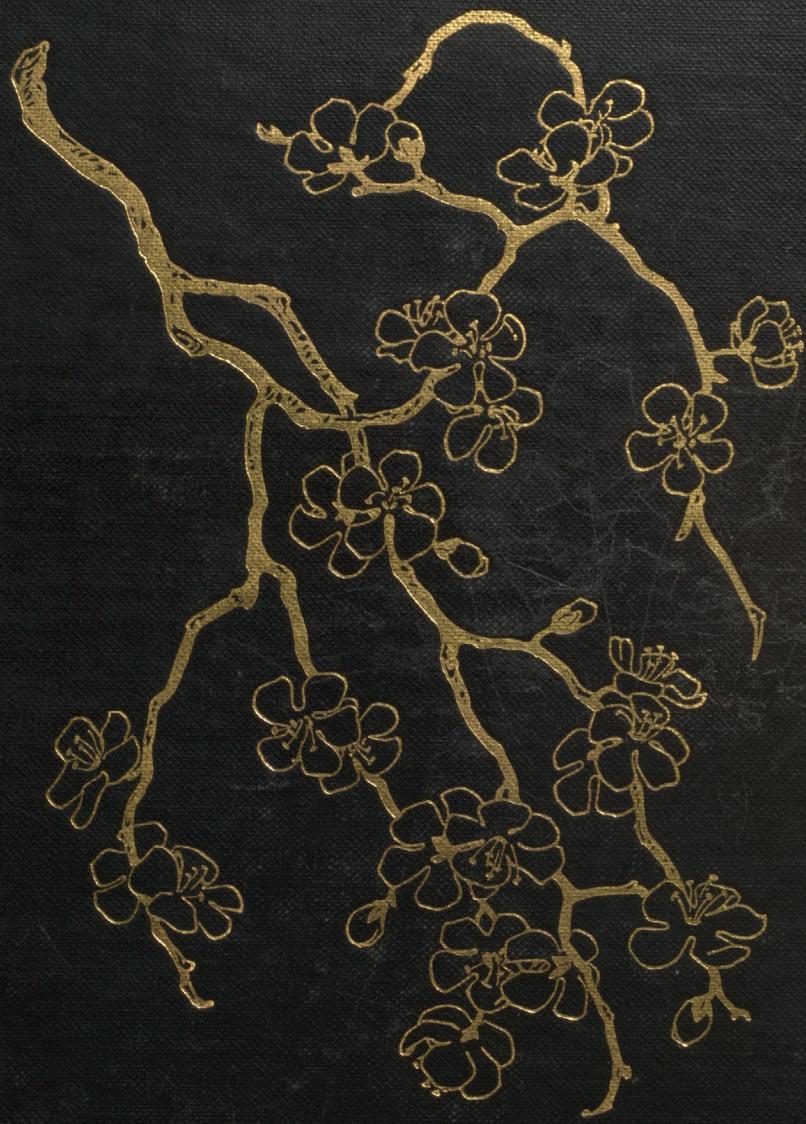


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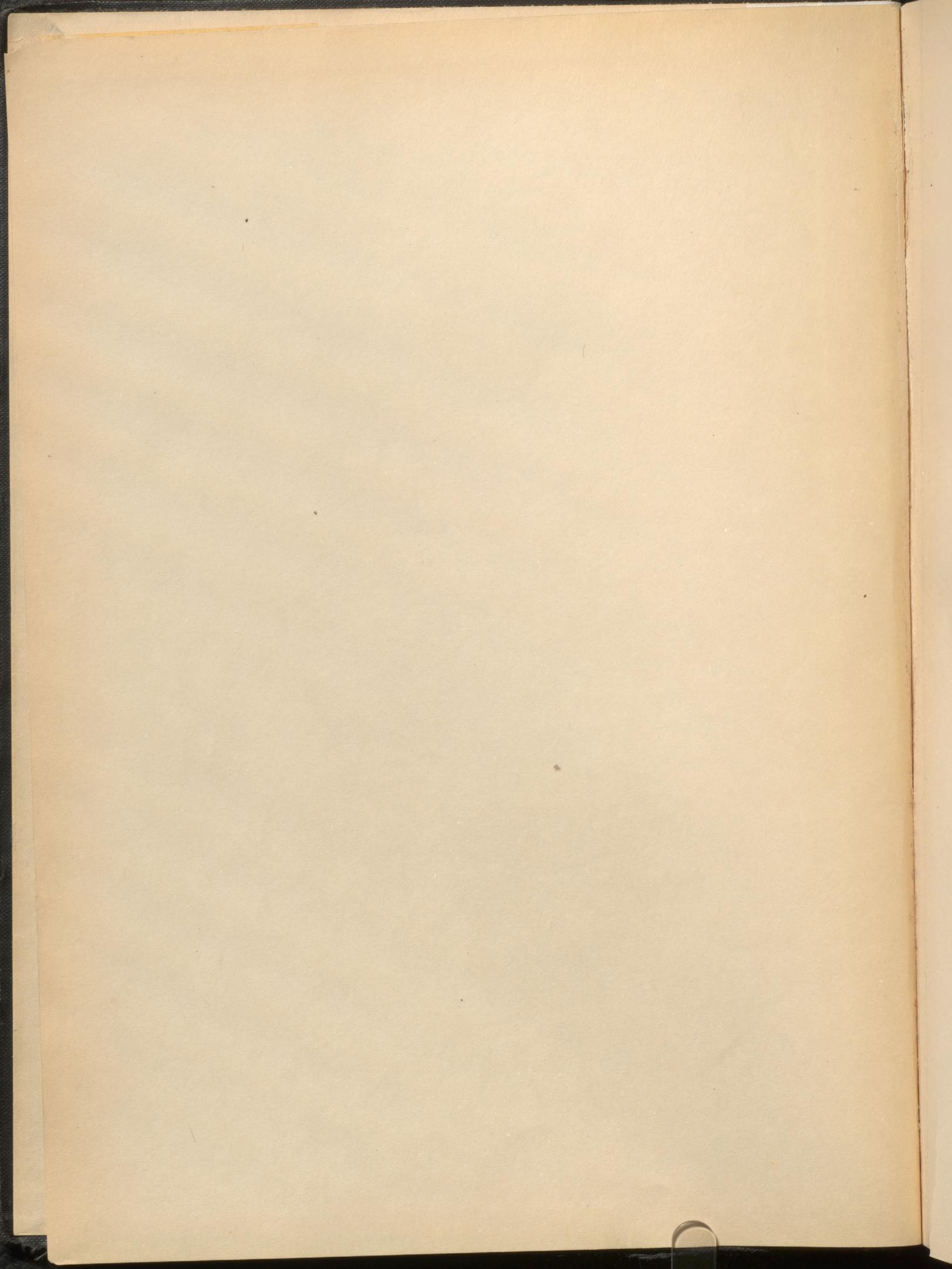
JOHN C. FERGUSON



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UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, U.S.A.

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THE CHINESE DYNASTIES

	B.C.
Hsia Dynasty	2205-1766
Shang Dynasty	1766-1122
Chow Dynasty	1122-255
Ch'in (Ts'in) Dynasty	255-206
	A.D. B.C.
Han Dynasty	220-206
	A.D.
Wei Dynasty	220-264
Chin (Tsin) Dynasty	265-420
Six Dynasties	420-618
T'ang Dynasty	618-906
Five Dynasties	907-960
Sung Dynasty	960-1277
Chin Dynasty	1115-1260
Yüan Dynasty	1277-1368
Ming Dynasty	1368-1644
Ch'ing Dynasty	1644-1912
Republic of China	1912—

I

INTRODUCTION

MORE than three hundred years ago Chang Ch'ou wrote in the Preface to his *Ch'ing-ho Shu Hua Fang* that he would like to be transformed into a bookworm, and promised that he would not injure any of the manuscripts or paintings in which he lived, but would be contented with mere existence in their company. Such was the delight with which one of the ablest critics of Chinese writings and paintings reveled in his enormous task of separating the good from the bad, the genuine from the false, among the accumulated ink-remains of previous generations. If Chang Ch'ou could have had his wish gratified by becoming a bookworm, he would not have been of that variety which Emerson placed in contrast with man thinking, for he had a keen mind. His wish was the measure of his appreciation of the worthy writings and paintings that came under his observation. These were the product of man's soul and were quite unlike the work of man's hands in bronze or clay or jade. Through these writings and paintings Chang Ch'ou held communion with the spirits of the great artists and calligraphists who preceded him, and in their unseen world there were no limits of time or space.

Although handicapped by birth in an alien country, and by an education whose traditions had their roots in Assyria, Greece, and Rome, the present author has had the rare opportunity, during a residence of thirty-five years in China, of association with practically all of the connoisseurs and critics of his day, who have been faithful guides in the examination of extant specimens of writing and painting and skilful teachers in the accumulated literature which discusses these twin-sister arts. The concurrent study of history, philosophy, and poetry has made possible a point of view which, it is hoped, is as near to that of the native-born student as is

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possible to a foreigner. In these pages dialectic peculiarities due to foreign birth may be detected by Chinese friends, but no one, I hope, will discover views based upon the prejudices of a foreign culture. Chinese writings and paintings must be considered in a class by themselves, surrounded by the literature and civilization of their own country, in order that their artistic appeal may have free course. It is idle to compare them with what has been produced in Western countries, where the surroundings are entirely different. The dagoba which stands on a prominence in the North Lake in Peking would lose all of its attractiveness on Murray Hill, New York. Surroundings and atmosphere are as important in writings and paintings as in architecture.

The first knowledge of Chinese artistic productions came to Europe through the introduction of porcelains during the Elizabethan period. Several large collections of the highest grade were assembled in Europe and America during the nineteenth century. Careful attention was given to the study of the shapes, glazes, paste, and decoration of these objects, for it was readily seen that they were superior in every respect to those produced in Western countries. This study of porcelains was not only the easiest but also the best approach to Chinese art. The shapes have proved to be a good introduction to a knowledge of the shapes of early bronze vessels which form the starting-point of Chinese art as it is now understood; the decorations of porcelain objects with beautiful writing, landscape scenes, human figures, birds and flowers, palaces and pavilions, historical incidents or religious subjects, form a good approach to the study of calligraphy and painting. If there had not been a long preparation of the European mind, extending over two centuries, for the understanding of Chinese porcelain, there could never have been the present keen appreciation of the higher artistic productions of China which are now known to be bronze vessels, sculpture, calligraphy, and painting. It is in the free section of the fine arts that differences between Western and Eastern ideals are the greatest. In the dependent section, which includes ceramics, the methods and products of the West are necessarily similar to those of the East. In Chinese ceramics there is a wonderful dexterity of manual construction, together with a keen

sense of color. These have combined to produce in the Western beholders a strong sense of admiration. One may discriminate between different classes of porcelains, favoring one class more than another, but no one with artistic taste would be so rash as to say that there was nothing in Chinese porcelains to be admired. These beautiful objects need no explanation to lovers of artistic production, and thus form a good introduction to Chinese art.

This admiration of Chinese porcelains has been both a help and a hindrance to the serious study of the higher branches of Chinese art. Too often the collector of paintings and bronzes, calligraphy and sculpture, has been content with procuring such specimens as have made an immediate appeal to him. He appreciated them in the same way he had learned to admire good specimens of porcelain, and he was content to leave his judgment of the intrinsic worth of these higher objects dependent wholly upon the one sense of admiration. In the study of porcelains an admiring appreciation is all that is required as far as artistic instincts are concerned. The rest is a knowledge of materials and of mechanical processes. One must understand different types of porcelain clay and the process of refining it. He must know glazes and the method of their application; he must understand firing in kilns; he must, in general terms, understand the secret of the potter's methods. With an artistic appreciation and with such mechanical knowledge, one may become an expert in Chinese porcelains. As very little has been written in Chinese about ceramics, there is no literature to be studied. It is different, however, when one comes into the realm of calligraphy and painting, bronzes and sculpture. Here one must not only have an admiring appreciation and understanding of mechanical methods, but he must also have a knowledge of the spirit of the people as expressed in its historical development, literary production, and poetic conceptions. There is a vast literature on the higher arts in which there is a critical examination of the works of the great artists, and classifications according to their varying ability. This literature must be studied and analyzed in order to correct the vagaries of personal taste and peculiarity. It is not enough, for instance, for one to admire a painting; that is only the first step. If one is to make progress he must go on from this to a knowledge as to whether or not the

consensus of critical judgment in China places this admired painting among those things which should be admired; in other words, whether or not one's admiration is an evidence of artistic appreciation or artistic ignorance.

We are met at the outset with a fundamental difficulty on account of the difference between the civilizations of the East and the West. We of the West have derived all our standards from the civilizations of Greece and Rome. In these art was based upon technique—technique into which an inspired genius had breathed the breath of life. The artist was one who, in addition to his native skill, had received the benefit of instruction in a certain technique which could bring about certain results. Granted that all artists possessed this power, the great genius in any one branch of art was the man who possessed it in common with his fellows, but into whose soul had come a great inspiration which elevated even his technique to a higher position than could be attained by others. In China great artists have been produced in an entirely different way. There has been behind them a common understanding of the culture and traditions of their own country, together with the technical ability of using the brush, which is the instrument for writing. Upon the basis of a common culture, the man who was to become a great artist was the man of culture blessed also with inspiration. The difference between the way in which artists were produced in China and that in which they were produced with us has consisted in the background. With us, this background is technique; with the Chinese, it has been culture. With us, out of the group of those skilled in technique have arisen the inspired artists whose names we delight to honor; in China, out of the group of cultured men have come the artists whose souls have been touched with a great inspiration and whose work has therefore been greater than that of others. Whether in the East or in the West the great artists have always been great because of their special inspiration; the difference between East and West has consisted wholly in the general type out of which the great artists have sprung. Among us, culture has been sought as a valuable addition to the working outfit of a budding genius who had already shown his skill in technique; in China, technique has been learned by those who

have given promise of seeing great visions and feeling great thoughts during the ordinary processes of obtaining culture.

As compared with Greece and Rome, China had a much longer time during which it evolved its artistic life. During this long period China was developing a civilization which, after it became stable, lasted longer than any other that the world has known. In the early civilization of China we find bronze and jade made into vessels and implements which were characteristic of the best type of their life. Before these bronze and jade objects were fashioned into shape there existed the ceremonial rite of ancestor worship in which they were to be used, and the development of these rites into an established custom must have required a period of time extending over many generations. With the Greeks and Romans it was not unusual to have some artistic creation elevated to the rank of objects to be worshiped, but with the Chinese, as far as is known, it was some established custom of ceremonial observations which called forth artistic expression. Artistic expression in Greece and Rome was frequently founded solely upon fanciful imagination, whereas in China it has been founded upon actual experiences of life.

Civilization may be used synonymously with culture. Culture is the refinement of mind, morals, and taste, and is a term applied to individuals. Civilization is the orderly conduct of cultured people, those who have been redeemed from the rudeness of a natural or savage life; the introduction of reason into human affairs, the triumph of right over might. It was out of such culture and civilization that Chinese art sprang. Art is best defined by Ruskin as "the work of the whole spirit of man." In this sense it is more specifically applicable to the aesthetic or "fine arts" in which forms are created for their own sake, i.e., for the delight which they give to the producer himself. It is in this sense of art as defined by Ruskin that it is possible to speak of art in China as based upon culture.

One of the earliest summaries of the characteristics of early Chinese civilization is given in the *Ch'un Ch'iu Annals*. Here civilization is described as a wonderful galaxy of orderliness, ceremony, good taste, propriety, observation, and intelligence. These great virtues must be considered as

ideals rather than as attainments of early China, but the simple fact that they formed a large part of the thoughts of the men of that time implies a high standard of civilization. It was in conformity with demands of such a civilization that art had its origin. We may therefore in its development look for dignity in grace, strength in freedom, as well as for keen insight mingled with obscurantism.

Early Chinese culture was based upon ceremony, the proper regulation of man's daily life, and upon divination—an attempt to pierce into the mystery of the natural forces which lie beyond the power and ken of mankind. Ceremony implied respect for something precedent to man as well as superior to his powers. Divination implied the untiring seeking to know the secrets of nature and life which is the real inspiration of a scientific spirit. Ceremony represents stability, while divination on its side suggests restlessness. Ceremony is conservative and backward looking; divination is liberal and peers into the future. The whole growth of Chinese civilization has been a struggle between these two forces, and in this struggle ceremony, i.e., conservatism, has largely prevailed. Together these have produced the style in which Chinese art took root and bore fruit. They have been responsible for the two distinct artistic currents which have flowed down through the centuries of Chinese history, one languid and the other turbid. Art in its highest aspects has associated itself with literature and poetry, and in its freer moods, with the popular beliefs and superstitions of the people.

The earliest term used for "art" in China is *i*, and this word is explained as mental ability, skill, and technique. The forms in which this mental ability manifested itself were comprised in the "six arts" (*liu i*). These were ritual, music, archery, charioteering, writing, and calculation. The last one, calculation, meant the calculation of areas. It might also be spoken of as surveying or land-plotting. With this was necessarily associated "drawing plans" (*t'u*). Out of this art of calculation or surveying thus grew the drawing of maps which, it is generally agreed among Chinese critics, formed the basis of drawing and painting. In this early classification of the six arts it will be seen that the two great graphic arts of calligraphy and painting are foreshadowed, if not indeed actually included. If the term "ritual" may be

broadly interpreted, it would include also the utensils used in ceremonial practice which were the great bronze vessels of antiquity. To this term for "art" (*i*) was later added the term *shu*, which primarily means "mysterious method." Under the term *i shu* all artistic products were included. In recent years a modern term (*mei shu*) has been introduced into China from Japan to express the term "art," or, more specifically, the "fine arts." This term is not a particularly happy one and is neither as comprehensive nor as specific as the earlier term (*i shu*), which is the best that can be used to express the Chinese conception of art. The term "Chinese art" may therefore be correctly translated as *Chung Hua i shu*.

The use of these two words *i* and *shu*, both of which imply technique, shows that Chinese art has never overlooked nor underestimated the importance of technical skill. It has been quite well understood that genius without skill is abortive. It is a very early saying that "though a man has genius, if he is devoid of technique his conceptions can only take shape in his own mind, but cannot be put into form by his hands." While culture has been recognized as fundamental in the training of an artist, it has also been equally perceived that careful training in technique must accompany native talent. There can be no divorce between culture and technique, but in the combination the primary influence is culture and the secondary technique.

The Chinese have always recognized that there are certain men of genius who seem to be above all the laws which control ordinary men. They were capable of artistic production without previous technical training such as our Western artists are given. Painters like Mi Fei of the Sung dynasty, Chao Mêng-fu of the Yüan dynasty, and Shên Chou of the Ming dynasty were geniuses; and yet every one of these three had been subject in his youth to severe disciplinary training. Each had learned the mastery of the fine-hair writing-brush. The ability to control the arm and hand in the use of this writing-brush is as severe discipline as can be given to probationary painters. This training includes the power of making thick or slender strokes, heavy or light shades of ink, quick turns and graceful hooks, all of which is good preparation for painting. These three great geniuses learned in school control of the writing-brush and acquired mastery over

arm and hand. When they began to paint it was only necessary for them to add to their existing acquirements a knowledge of color and an appreciation of form. The first training of an artist and a scholar was identical; both used the same brush, the same ink, and the same type of strokes. Both also had the same cultural background made up of the history, traditions, and literature of their country.

It has been the training of this type and the familiarity with the culture of their country which has kept alive the spirit of art among the people. As compared with Greece or Rome, China has had few great monuments, and those which she has had she has always allowed to go into decay. Her best writers have never pointed to certain monuments as evidences of the civilization of their country; they have rather pointed to the spirit of their race as outlined in their books for proof of their culture. Monuments may decay, art objects may be treasured by wealthy people out of the sight of ordinary students, but in the heart of the man who has studied the history of his country and who has learned the use of the writing-brush so as to transmit his own ideas, the fire of culture and of art burns perpetually as it did on the vestal altars. This is a peculiar characteristic of the Chinese and explains their indifference to the preservation of their monuments. They have always believed that the best preservative of national art is found in the hearts of their cultured classes rather than in the work of men's hands. They consider that art will never die in a country which keeps up a succession of cultured people.

The historical development of the expression of artistic impulses in all forms illustrates the principle which has been set forth in the preceding paragraphs, viz., that culture is the basis of Chinese art. We can pass over without detailed examination the earliest expression in the carvings and writings on the carapaces of tortoises and on bones of animals. The specimens which have been explained by Lo Chén-yü, L. C. Hopkins, and others are full of interest to the antiquarian; but they are only crude primitives in their expression of artistic motives. And yet, even in this earliest stage the association of ideographs and carvings shows that whatever artistic impulse was felt by the producers of these carvings on bone was the

WATERING A HORSE, BY CHAO MÊNG-FU



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result of the culture which surrounded them and which sought to give concurrent expression in writing.

The earliest artistic expression which compels careful consideration is found in bronze implements and vessels. Decorations of war chariots and carts form the earliest-known specimens. The ends and sides of the shafts were covered with cast bronze richly embellished. The top of the yoke was covered with bronze ornaments surmounted with bells. The end of the axle was also covered. There are extant a few specimens of these decorations of chariots which in all probability are the earliest bronze objects known in China. They were evidently used in beautifying the chariots of princes so as to distinguish them from the common people. They cannot have been used much earlier in point of time than bronze sacrificial vessels.

Ancestor worship has been observed in China from the earliest dawn of history. Representing as it does one of the noblest traits of human character, respect for parents, it was to be expected that technical skill and artistic impulse should find their first combination in attempts to produce vessels adapted to the ceremonies connected with ancestor worship. The possession of these vessels was the sign of the seniority of their possessor in the ranks of his family just as in the state only the owner of the vessels used in public ceremonies could be the highest officer. The Nine Tripods used in national celebrations were the property of the emperor and the symbol of his power. The Nine Tripods of the Hsia dynasty were placed by Ch'êng Wang in Chia Ju and were the emblem of his becoming the founder of the Shang dynasty. We know from the *Shu King* that when barbarian tribes came to acknowledge fealty to the civilized rulers of China it was customary for them to present bronze vessels in token of their submission.

These early bronze vessels exhibit high qualities of technical skill. There was careful selection of the copper used. It is said in Book I of the *Shu King* that the best copper was found in the western part of the ancient division of Yangchow, which is the present province of Kiangsi. In the *Shih King* copper was called the "southern metal." It was a difficult metal to work in, but much better adapted for artistic expression than iron. Great care must have been taken also in the selection of the alloys used with cop-

per to produce bronze. In some of the earliest Shang vessels the proportion of tin alloy used must have been as great as 30 or even 40 per cent, but in none of the earliest specimens that I have seen is there any indication of iron having been used as an alloy. It was the existing culture of the people which led them to choose bronze as a medium of artistic expression, in order that they might obtain the best results. It enabled them also to cast on the surface of their vessels ideographic inscriptions. These inscriptions reveal the contemporaneous culture. They refer to victories in war or the devotion of a son to parents or of a woman to her husband. The combination of decoration on the outside of these vessels with the ideographic inscriptions on the inside reveals the intimate connection between culture and technique in ancient China. Thus in family, tribe, and nation these artistic bronze vessels were at once the product of the surrounding culture and the symbols of prestige.

As the earliest bronze vessels were called into existence for use in ancestor worship, so also jade objects were first used for this same purpose. The "five jade objects" spoken of in the *Shu King*, Part II, Book I, and those mentioned in Ode V, Book V, of the *Shih King*, were all used as ornaments for the dead. Jade was also cut into various sizes and thicknesses to be used in producing musical notes for sacrificial occasions. It was from the size and shape of these jade pieces and also from the tones of varying sizes of bronze tripods that the scale of Chinese music was determined. Jade wrought into cups, bowls, musical tablets, or ornaments for the dead was in its earliest uses entirely connected with ancestor worship and thus bound up with the general cultural development. In whatever form bronze or jade was used, the objects produced were devoted to the highest service of civilization as understood by the people of that time. The decorations of jade and bronze were dignified and chaste, thus being in perfect consonance with the purposes for which these objects were intended.

The next stage of artistic expression in China was in stone monuments. There was no sculpture proper in which the proportions of all three dimensions were used. The earliest stone monuments were *in relief* or *in intaglio*. Human figures, figures of animals, representation of clouds and hills and

trees, were the earliest subjects. On the Li Hsi stone dated A.D. 171 there is a suggestion of landscape in which are found trees, water, and a deer. There was no attempt to produce sculptures representing the human figure in *ronde-bosse*. Something higher than man was depicted. Even the human figures when introduced in the relief sculptures of Wu Liang Tz'ü were those of ancient heroes commencing with Fu Hsi and Nü Kua and coming down through the centuries to Confucius and Lao Tzü. In all of these figures there was an idealization of face and form which agreed with the historical characteristics of the person portrayed. On these early stone monuments were also written inscriptions which served to unite cultural with artistic development.

This union was carried out in the earliest paintings which are recorded. In the *Chéng Kuan Kung Ssü Hua Shih*, written by P'ei Hsiao-yüan of the T'ang dynasty, the first paintings mentioned are ascribed to Yüan Chih of the Chin dynasty. There were two paintings by this artist. The subject of one of these is "Chuang-tzü and Black Vultures," referring to the well-known tale of the philosopher, Chuang-tzü, of the fourth and third centuries B.C., who replied to the fears expressed by his disciples when he was about to die that his body would be eaten by the vultures if he were not given a great funeral. "Above ground I shall be food for vultures; below ground I shall be eaten by worms. Why rob one to feed the other?" The other painting was of "Pien Ho and His Gem." This refers to the well-known tale of Pien Ho of the eighth century B.C., a native of Ch'u. He found on the mountains a stone which he considered to be pure jade, and presented it to his prince. Attendants of the prince declared it to be false, and the prince sentenced him to have his left foot cut off as an impostor. Later when the prince came to the throne, Pien Ho again presented the stone, which was for the second time declared to be false, and he was condemned to lose his right foot. Nothing daunted, he presented it a third time, declaring that he had no regret at losing his two feet, but only at having a genuine stone pronounced false. When it was finally tested it was discovered to be a real gem. These two earliest paintings are thus seen to have had for their subjects incidents which were characteristic of the cul-

tural development of the nation. We have no record of the way in which the artist treated these subjects, but the paintings were probably crude as compared with later productions. From our present point of view they might even be regarded as grotesque just as Chinese looking at our earliest pictures of the crucifixion and the birth of Christ regard them not as primitives, but as grotesque. In both cases the reason for such opinions is a lack of familiarity with the theme depicted. The significance of the scenes must be understood in order to feel their emotional appeal. The disregard of death shown by Chuang Tzŭ and the plucky determination of Pien Ho not to be put in the wrong even by a prince stir the emotions of Chinese familiar with the tales just as Westerners are moved by the paintings of scenes with which they are familiar.

Han Tsung-po of the Ming dynasty places the earliest known painting of his time as belonging to the Wu dynasty. It was by Ts'ao Fu-hsing. He says further that paintings as known in his time could be classified under the headings of Religious Paintings, Human Figures, Landscape, Measured Pictures, Fruits and Flowers, Birds and Beasts, Insects and Fishes, and Imaginative Paintings. He speaks of the following great masters of religious paintings: Ku K'ai-chih, Chang Sêng-yu, Wu Tao-tzŭ. Noted painters of human figures were Chan Tzŭ-ch'ien, Yen Li-pêñ, Chou Fang, Li Kung-lin. Noted masters of landscape painting were Ching Hao, Kuan T'ung, Tung Yüan, Chü Jan, Yen Su, Chao Mêng-fu, Huang Kung-wang, Wang Mêng. Noted men in measured paintings were Wang Wei, Li Ssü-hsün, Yin Chi-chao, Kuo Chung-shu. Noted painters of flowers and fruits, birds and beasts, were Pien Luan, Huang Ch'üan, Han Kan, Tai Sung. Painters of insects and fish and imaginative paintings were Ku Yeh-wang, T'êng Wang Yüan-ying, Hsü Hsi, I Yüan-chi, Chêng Ch'ien, Mi Fei, Kao K'o-kung, Ni Tsan.

These illustrations taken from the art development of China, few as they are, are sufficient to show the dependence of artistic productions upon national culture. The most serious charge that can be made against art which has such a basis is its inherent tendency toward pedantry. This, however, is not the fault of the art, but of the civilization from which it springs. There

has always been a tendency in Chinese civilization to glorify the past at the expense of the present. National events have run smoothest when in a fixed groove. Not infrequently this has caused stagnation of thought, and for generations new ideas have been tabooed. This characteristic has been reflected in art products. New painters have produced subjects made familiar by their predecessors; calligraphists have found their chief glory in being able to imitate the writing of great masters. Porcelain has imitated the shapes and decorations of ancient bronzes. This tendency has not encouraged originality in artists, but, on the other hand, it has been the chief factor in preserving such a uniform development of artistic product as has never characterized the work of any other nation. All artistic products are distinctly national. They need only to be seen to be recognized at once as Chinese. Later generations have copied earlier ones, but their work has always been confined to the masters of their own country. They have not gone to the outside world for inspiration or for methods. Their national culture has been a never failing source of artistic stimulus.

Wherever man has evolved for himself a civilization, art has claimed its portion. In a highly developed civilization such as China has had for more than two thousand years art has flourished by the side of literature. The simple fact that it is only in recent years that we of the Western World have begun to realize the importance and the extent of China's art product does not in any way reflect upon its worth. It is only another indication of the ease with which intercommunication breaks down the artificial barriers, separating those who in different parts of the world have been developing noble ideas into some form of art, and who, at the same time, have not been privileged to see one another's work. To the Chinese their paintings have the mystery of the soul-world. Is it any wonder that they are a mystery to a Westerner unfamiliar with Chinese civilization?

II

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

THE earliest catalogue of Chinese paintings, as mentioned in the preceding chapter, was prepared during the first half of the seventh century A.D. by P'ei Hsiao-yüan. P'ei's book is called "A Record of the Public and Private Collection of the Emperor Chêng Kuan" (*Chêng Kuan Kung Ssü Hua Shih*), although in reality it is a record of the Imperial Collection of the Sui dynasty (A.D. 589-618). Chêng Kuan is the reigning title of the second emperor of the T'ang dynasty, who is more frequently spoken of as T'ai Tsung (A.D. 627-50). It was during the reign of this illustrious monarch that groups of scholars under imperial patronage reproduced copies of the writings and paintings of previous dynasties, thus preserving the priceless records for future generations. P'ei gives a list of two hundred and ninety-three paintings that were in the Imperial Collection of the Sui dynasty and remained down to the reign of Chêng Kuan. The catalogue gives first the name of the painting, then that of the artist, and indicates how many of his paintings were included in the public collection of the Sui dynasty. In addition to these two hundred and ninety-three paintings P'ei mentions forty-seven well-known temples where there were mural decorations by noted artists. The first mentioned is Wa Kuan Ssü in Nanking where there were paintings by Ku K'ai-chih and Chang Sêng-yu. The last temple mentioned is Pao Ch'a Ssü, located at Hsi-an and built during the Sui dynasty. Here there were paintings by Chêng Fa-shih and Yang Ch'i-tan.

The great collection of paintings brought together by the emperors of the Sung dynasty is described in the "Hsüan Ho Collection of Paintings" (*Hsüan Ho Hua P'u*). This collection is called Hsüan Ho because it was lodged in the Hsüan Ho Palace and not, as has been erroneously claimed, after one of the reigning names of the Emperor Hui Tsung. There are good grounds for believing that the original lists contained in these volumes were

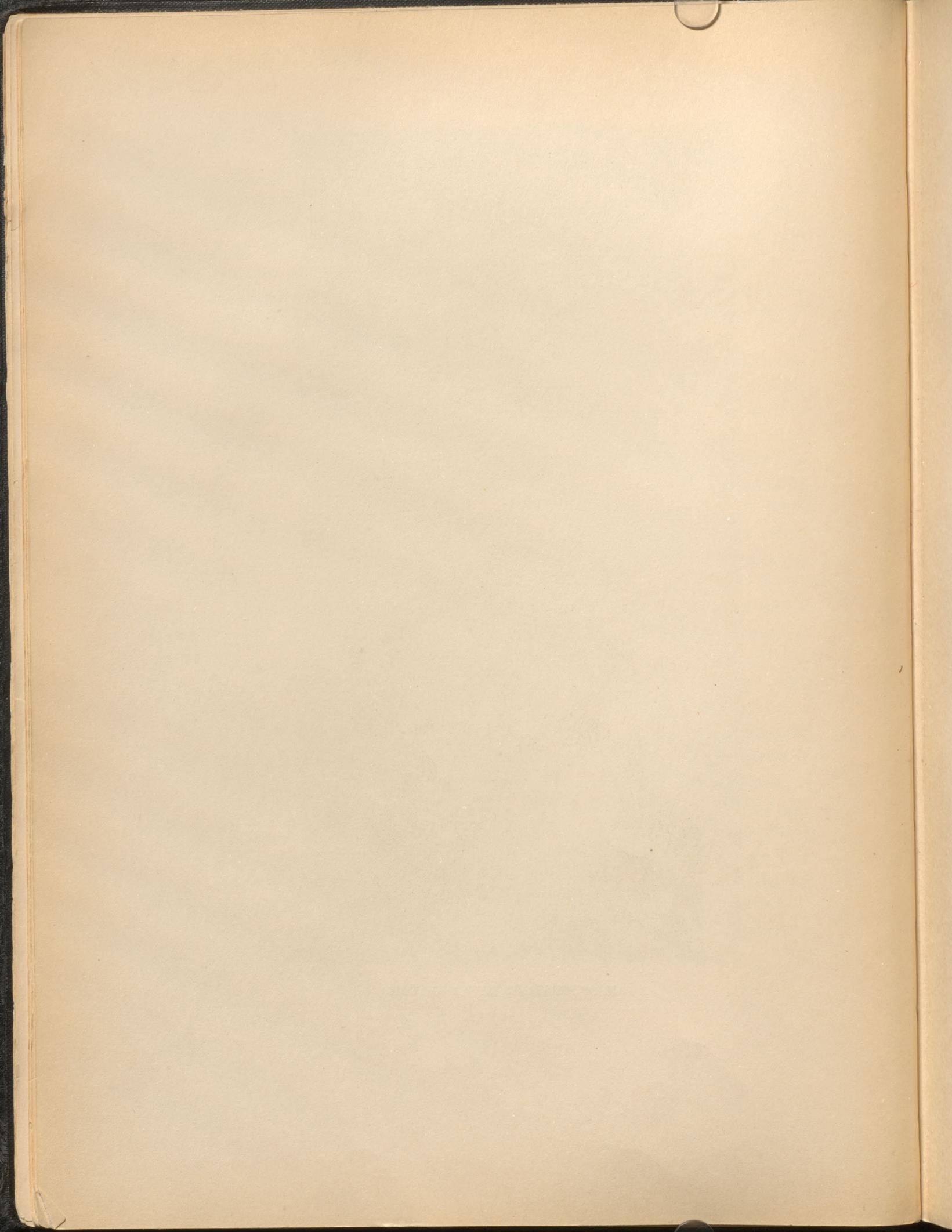
prepared by Mi Fei. Although it owes its present form doubtless to some later scholar as discussed in one of the subsequent paragraphs of this chapter, this book must be accepted as a fairly accurate list of the large number of paintings collected by the Sung emperors. It classifies paintings under the following headings: (a) religious pictures, of which there are four grades of excellence; (b) human figures, of which there are three grades; (c) palaces; (d) dragons and fishes; (e) landscapes, of which there are three grades; (f) animals, of which there are two grades; (g) birds and flowers, of which there are five grades; (h) bamboos; and (i) vegetables. The earliest painter mentioned is Ts'ao Fu-hsing of the Wu dynasty, about A.D. 250. It was probably in reference to his being the earliest painter mentioned in this collection that Anderson in *The Pictorial Arts of Japan* refers to him as "the first painter whose memory has been rescued from oblivion." The great painting by this artist was called "The Military Tally" (*Ping Fu T'u*). This painting is referred to as having been in the collection of Chao Mêng-fu of the Yüan dynasty, and is now in the collection of the family of Ts'ai Po-hao, former Taotai of Shanghai. Although this cannot be considered to be the original painting, there is no reason to doubt that it faithfully preserves the style of this early artist. The Western Chin dynasty (A.D. 265-313) is represented by Ku K'ai-chih and others. None of the important artists of the Five Dynasties, the T'ang or the Sung dynasty, is omitted, so that this book is most useful in recording the early artists of China as well as the names of their paintings; but whereas it is an accepted standard for knowing the names of artists, it cannot be followed slavishly as to the names of paintings, for it is well known that, with the exception of names which are taken from historic incidents or places, it has been the custom of successive owners of paintings as well as of authors of books to change the names of paintings to their own personal tastes. An illustration of this is the famous painting of Wang Ch'i-han which is known both as "Reading" (*K'an Shu T'u*) and as "Picking the Ear" (*Tiao Er T'u*). In contrast with this such well-known names as "The Instructress," painted by Ku K'ai-chih, "The Eight Steeds of Mu Wang" (*Mu Wang Pa Chün*), "The Nine Songs" (*Chiu Ko T'u*), are the same throughout the whole story of Chinese art.

In addition to the Hsüan Ho Collection there are also records of a great private collection owned by Mi Fei. There are two lists of this collection: one given by the *Shan Hu Wang*, and another given by the *Ch'ing-ho Shu Hua Fang*. This collection was a very important one and contained not only examples of early painting, but also representative specimens of the immediate predecessors of the illustrious author and painter. The famous Su family of Jun-chow also had a notable collection, and its records furnish additional information of great value concerning early Chinese artists.

At the opening of the Yüan dynasty there were two great collections: that of Chia Ssü-tao and that of Chao Mêng-fu. The collection of Chia Ssü-tao was very large and contained several early paintings, the earliest of which was a picture by Wei Hsieh, of the third century A.D. The subject of this painting was taken from the *Book of Odes*. Chia's collection also contained the scroll "Reading" by Wang Ch'i-han. Chia Ssü-tao was a careful collector, and any extant painting which bears one of his seals (such as Yüeh Sêng) has presumptive evidence in its favor. The collection of Chao Mêng-fu, including the paintings collected after his return from Yen in A.D. 1235, was only second to that of the Hsüan Ho in variety and importance. It contained "The Military Tally" (*Ping Fu T'u*), by Ts'ao Fu-hsing, to which reference has already been made; one by Lu T'an-wei; and one by Wei-ch'ih I-sêng. It is interesting to note that this collection contained a copy of "The Instructress" by Ku K'ai-chih, made by the famous artist Li Kung-lin. There are records of thirty-three other collections of the Yüan dynasty. Some of these, though small, contained important paintings. For example, the collection of Ch'iao Ta-chih had a painting by Wu Tao-tzü, one by Li Ssü-hsün, one by Wang Wei, and one by Chang Hsüan. The collection of Ssü-ching Tê-yung had the important painting of "The Heavenly King," by Wei-ch'ih I-sêng, now in the Freer Museum. The collection of Chang Ch'ien-shou contained the painting "Looking at a Tablet" (*K'an Pei T'u*), which is now in the possession of Mr. Ching Hsien, Peking. The collection of the artist Ni Tsan had only a few paintings, but one of these was by Chang Sêng-yu, and another was "The Birth of Buddha," by Wu Tao-tzü, a wonderful scroll also owned by Ching Hsien, Peking.



A PAIR OF PHEASANTS, BY WANG YÜAN



During the Ming dynasty the largest and most important collection was that made by Yen Sung of Fēn-i who died A.D. 1568. This collection was divided into three parts: hanging pictures (*chou*), scrolls (*chüan*), and albums (*chēh*). The earliest hanging pictures in this collection were two painted by Wu Tao-tzü. There were ten pictures by Li Kung-lin, thirteen by Mi Fei, and five by Chao Po-chü. These are mentioned as examples to show the wealth of this collection. Among the scrolls owned by Yen Sung were two by Ku K'ai-chih: one a portrait of Wei So and the other views in the garden of Wang Hsi-chih. In this collection the scroll "The Instructress" is not credited to Ku K'ai-chih but to an unmentioned artist of the Chin dynasty, thus assigning it to the same period as other collections but omitting the name of the artist. Two early scrolls of this collection have been exhibited in the Government Museum, Peking: one "The Thatched Cottage" (*Ts'ao T'ang T'u*), by Lu Hung, and "Tribute Bearers" (*Chih Kung T'u*), by Yen Li-pêñ. It contained also scrolls by Li Ssü-hsün, Chou Fang, Han Kan, Chou Wén-chü, two copies of "Reading" (*K'an Shu T'u*), six copies of "The Nine Songs" by Li Kung-lin, two copies of a reproduction of "The Lo-shên Goddess" by Ku K'ai-chih, as well as a large number of other scrolls by this same artist. Among the album paintings of this collection there were twelve volumes of early and later paintings which doubtless contained many fine examples of small-sized pictures. When Yen Sung was dismissed from office in 1562 his property was confiscated and his collection scattered, although a large portion of it was retained by the Emperor Wan Li. On account of the infamous character of Yen Sung later collectors have frequently cut out the seals of ownership placed upon pictures belonging to this collection as if owners were ashamed to have in their possession anything which had been the property of this wicked man.

Another notable collection of the Ming dynasty was that of Wang Shih-chêng (A.D. 1526-93). He was a contemporary of Yen Sung but lived much longer. The earliest picture in this collection is "The Eight Steeds," by Shih Tao-shih of the Chin dynasty, fourth century A.D. "The Sixteen Lohans," by Li Kung-lin, now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, is one of the scrolls from this collection. Probably its most valuable paintings

were those of the Yüan and early part of the Ming dynasty. Wang Shih-chêng was a scholarly critic, and his judgment upon these artists from whom he was separated by only a short period of time must be treated with great consideration. There were many other collectors in the Ming dynasty, such as Shih Ming-ku, Shên Chou, and Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, the last two being themselves great artists; the Hsiang family, of whom the best critic was Hsiang Mo-ling; and Han Tsung-po, into whose collection the scroll "Reading" had fallen after the dispersal of Yen Sung's collection.

During the late Manchu dynasty the first great collection was that made under the patronage of the Emperor K'ang Hsi. Its contents are recorded in the written manuscript called *Ta Kuan Lu*. The earliest picture mentioned is that of "The Instructress," by Ku K'ai-chih, and the description answers in every respect to the scroll now in the British Museum. The next oldest pictures are one by Chan Tzü-ch'ien, and the other "The Heavenly King," by Wei-ch'ih I-sêng, from the Yüan dynasty collection of Ssü-ching Tê-yung. The earliest T'ang pictures are by Yen Li-tê and his brother, Yen Li-pêng, whose "Tribute Bearers" from the collection of Yen Sung had already found its way into this Imperial Collection. There were also the scroll "The Birth of Buddha," by Wu Tao-tzü, and many other paintings of the T'ang and Five Dynasties. This Imperial Collection was added to during the reigns of Yung Chêng and Ch'ien Lung. Its contents are fully described in *Shih Ku T'ang* and in the two well-known books *Shih Chü Pao Chi* and *Hsi Ch'ing Tsa Chi*. Another great collection of the Ch'ien Lung period was that made by the Korean, An I-chou, and fully described in his book "Ink Remains" (*Mo Yüan Hui Kuan*). The property of this man was confiscated, and most of his valuable paintings were absorbed into the Imperial Collection.

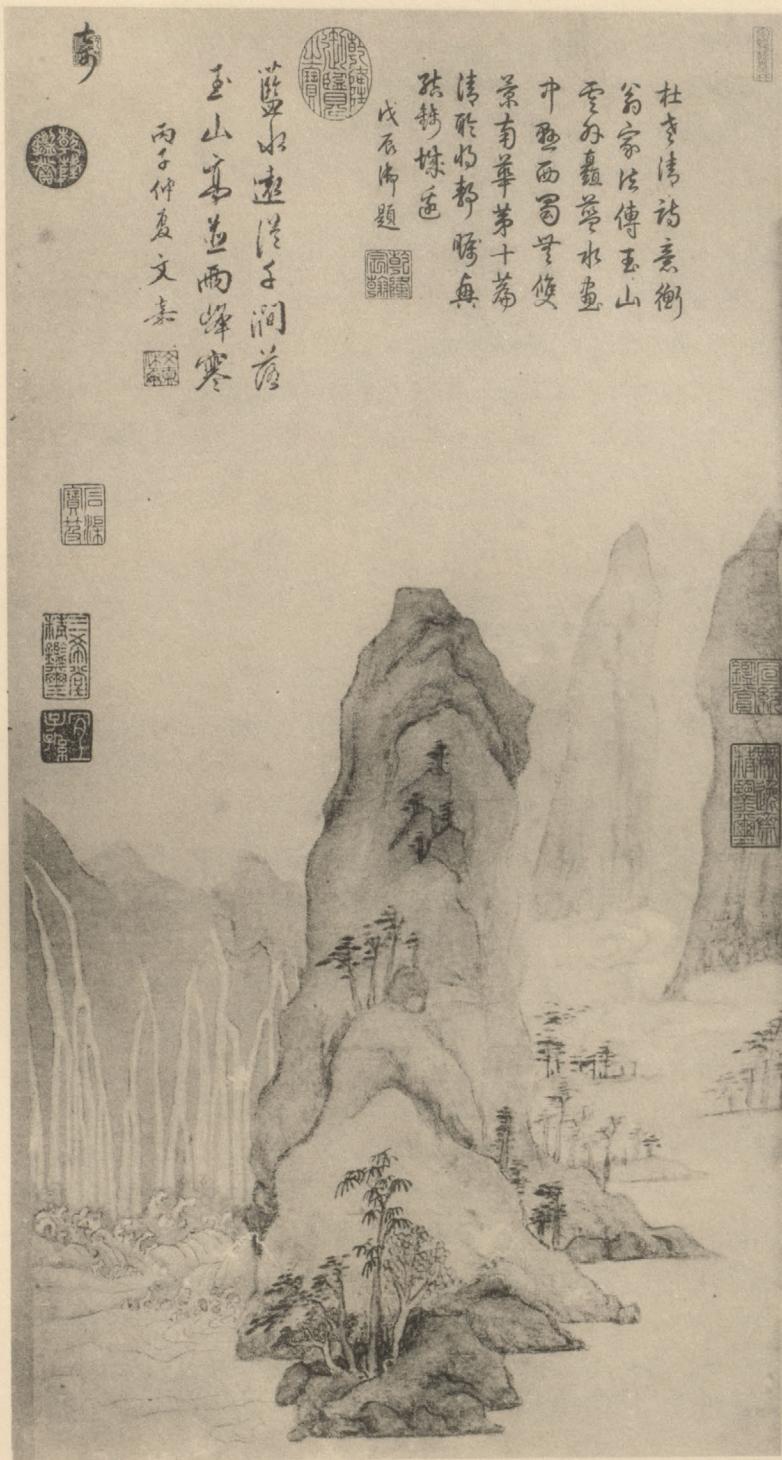
Knowledge of Chinese paintings is not confined to lists of great collections. The "Treatise on the Hsüan Ho Paintings" (*Hsüan Ho Hua P'u*) gives a biographical sketch of artists as well as a list of their paintings. There is no attempt to criticize or to make estimates of the comparative merits of artists other than to grade them into higher and lower classes. This "Treatise" of the Hsüan Ho contains twenty volumes. It does not

bear the name of its author, though it has been generally supposed that together with the "Treatise on Hsüan Ho Writings" (*Hsüan Ho Shu P'u*) it was prepared during the reign of the Emperor Hui Tsung. This is an erroneous opinion, for it is stated in Volume III of *Yen Chi*, by Chêng Piao, that it was in A.D. 1302 that the collection of the Hsüan Ho writings into twenty volumes was made by Wu Wênkuei. It would have been easy for Wu Wênkuei to prepare this book from the records of the imperial household of the Yüan dynasty and of the governing classes. These records were handed over to the Yüan dynasty by the preceding Chin dynasty into whose hands they had fallen upon the defeat of the Sung dynasty at K'ai-fêng. Several critics have mentioned the fact that writings and paintings which bear Hsüan Ho seals are not included in the "Treatise." This is probably due to the insufficiency of the records available to Wu Wênkuei as it must have been inevitable during the siege and pillaging of K'aifêng that part of the records were destroyed. There can be little doubt that though this "Treatise" was written by Wu Wênkuei, or by some author during the early years of the Ming dynasty as claimed by some authorities, it contains the best available list of the paintings included in the collection of the Sung dynasty.

"The Ch'ing-ho Collection of Writings and Paintings" (*Ch'ing-ho Shu Hua Fang*) is a standard authority. It was written during the Ming dynasty in 1616 by Chang Ch'ou but remained in manuscript until 1763 when, during the reign of Ch'ien Lung, it was first published. The name of the book, *Shu Hua Fang*, translated literally means "The Boat of Paintings and Writings," referring to an incident in the life of Mi Fei when he spent a day on a boat with some literary friends examining specimens of painting and calligraphy. This day was made memorable for all time by the well-known poem of Huang T'ing-chien. In this book (*Ch'ing-ho*) the author describes only paintings and writings which he considered to be genuine. His description of the style of the artists is accompanied with details as to the quality of the silk or paper used. He quotes the annotations and comments made by various authors concerning the paintings which he mentions, describes the seals which were impressed upon the surface by various owners, and as far as was known to him gives a list of those in whose possession the painting

was found. Before the time of publication other books had been written, such as *Shan Hu Mu Nan* and *T'ieh Wang Shan Hu*, by Chu Ts'un-li of the Ming dynasty, and *Shan Hu Wang*, by Wang K'o-yü. The *Shan Hu Mu Nan* is valuable, not only for its painstaking scholarship, but especially for the reason that the author had at his disposal the carefully selected collections of Wêng Chêng-ming, Wêng Chia, Wang Ch'ih-têng, and Wang T'êng-ch'êng. The *T'ieh Wang Shan Hu*, which bears the name of Chu Ts'un-li as author, was in reality the work of an unknown author whose manuscript was discovered by Chao Ch'i-meи and handed over to Chu Ts'un-li for compilation and emendation. It is divided into ten volumes treating of calligraphy and six of paintings. Another important book was "Summer Vacation Records" (*Hsiao Hsia Lu*), by Chiang Ts'un, to which further reference will be made. The publisher of the Ch'ing-ho Collection was able to use these books to verify and correct the manuscript which had been left by Chang Ch'ou with the result that the *Ch'ing-ho Shu Hua Fang* is without doubt the most reliable criticism of early paintings that has yet been produced.

"The Collection of Writings and Paintings of the Wang Family" (*Wang Shih Shu Hua Yüan*) was prepared by Wang Shih-chêng (A.D. 1526-93), during the reign of the Ming Emperor Wan Li, but was only published a generation later by Wang Ch'ien-ch'ang. Wang Shih-chêng was a keen critic of the paintings and writings of his own family, and he also had access to the collection of Yen Sung. In addition to chronological lists of calligraphists and painters he quotes verbatim the annotations and comments of others on their works. He also quotes what all earlier authors have written on both subjects, commencing with the "Record of the Public and Private Collection of the Emperor Chêng Kuan," to which reference has been made in the first paragraph of this chapter. This work of Wang Shih-chêng is an encyclopedia of all available information concerning writings and paintings down to the latter half of the Ming dynasty. As far as I have been able to verify them his quotations from earlier books are remarkably free from errors, and this is due to his owning a very large collection of books and thus not needing to depend upon the statements of others.



BLEAK PEAKS, BY WÊN CHIA

"The Cyclopedic of the Writings and Paintings of the P'ei Wên Library" (*P'ei Wên Chai Shu Hua P'u*) was prepared under the orders of the Emperor K'ang Hsi and was published in 1708. This scholarly work claims to be a compilation from 1,844 different sources. It contains 100 chapters (*chüan*). Of these, 10 are devoted to discussions of calligraphy, 8 to discussions of painting, 48 to biographies of writers and painters, 21 to annotations and comments (*t'i pa*), 3 to critical estimates, and 10 to lists of famous collections. It is a valuable repository of information, but there is nothing to guide one in its use. Quotations are made from all sources without any indication as to their relative value or reliability. Varying opinions are given equal prominence. This book is, in fact, a detailed record of what others have written of manuscripts and pictures but is not a critical discussion of them.

"The Record of Wonderful Sights" (*Ta Kuan Lu*) was prepared in manuscript form during the reign of K'ang Hsi, and has only in recent years been printed. It is a compilation by a group of scholars assembled by the Emperor. It describes the important writings and paintings of the Imperial Collection as is evident from its name, which is derived from the famous writing, *Shun Hua T'ieh*. The stone on which this *t'ieh* was engraved was found in a dilapidated condition by Ts'ai Ching during the reign of the Sung dynasty emperor, Hui Tsung, who caused it to be replaced by a new stone on which a revised copy of the script was cut. This stone was set up in the T'ai Ch'ing Palace and became known as the "Wonderful Sight of the T'ai Ch'ing Writing" (*Ta Kuan T'ai Ch'ing T'ieh*). The name of this writing was abbreviated to *Ta Kuan T'ieh*, by which it has since been generally known. It was in memory of this "wonderful sight" that the name of *Ta Kuan Lu* was chosen for the book describing the treasures of K'ang Hsi's palace. This book was prepared with scholarly care. It records the size of each painting, states whether it was done on paper or silk, describes the subject presented by the artist, transcribes the seals impressed on the surface, and quotes annotations and comments made by observers or owners. As this book has only been preserved in manuscript it is necessary to confirm its quotations from other sources, but as a record of its period it is of great value.

"The Notes on Writings and Paintings of Shih Ku T'ang" (*Shih Ku T'ang Shu Hua Hui K'ao*) was first published during the reign of K'ang Hsi in a limited edition. Copies were very rare until recently a reprint has been issued by the Commercial Press. These notes were prepared by Pien Yung-yü with the assistance of his son and nephew. Thirty chapters of this book treat of writings, and thirty of paintings. The Introduction of the former was written by Ch'ien Tsêng; and of the latter, by the celebrated scholar P'an Lei (A.D. 1646-1708). The explanatory Preface by the author is a valuable discussion of the chief characteristics of good specimens of calligraphy and painting. A detailed list is also given of all the authorities from which quotations have been made. It is a valuable authority on paintings to the end of the Ming dynasty.

The above-mentioned three books, viz., "The Collection of Writings and Paintings of the Wang Family," "The Cyclopedic of the Writings and Paintings of the P'ei Wên Library," and "The Notes on Writings and Paintings of Shih Ku T'ang," contain all of the early brochures and comments on paintings. What Ku K'ai-chih or Kuo Hsi said about landscape may be found in these volumes. They also contain such well-known pamphlets as the "Famous Pictures of Antiquity" (*Li Tai Ming Hua Chi*), by Chang Yen-yüan; "Famous Paintings" (*Wu Tai Ming Hua Pu I*), by Liu Tao-ch'un; "Observations on Paintings" (*T'u Hua Chien Wén Chih*), by Kuo Jo-hsü; "History of Painting" (*Hua Shih*), by Mi Fei; and "Development of Painting" (*Hua Chi*), by Têng Ch'un. Everything said about paintings and calligraphy by earlier writers has been faithfully preserved in these three books.

"Summer Vacation Records of Chiang Ts'un" (*Chiang Ts'un Hsiao Hsia Lu*), written by Kao Shih-ch'i (A.D. 1645-1704), also belongs to the K'ang Hsi period. The author was a distinguished littérateur who was in high favor with the court and had excellent opportunities for examination of original sources. His work is an authority on the limited number of paintings and writings mentioned by him. It gives careful details of the dimensions, material, and quality of paintings, together with facsimiles of the seals found on them. This book is much more reliable than the "Summer Vacation Records of the Kêng Tzü Year" (1660) (*Kêng Tzü Hsiao Hsia Chi*),

written by Sun Ch'êng-tsê, the errors of which were noted in a book written by Ho Cho in 1713. Later editions of this work incorporate the emendations of Ho. There is another book of "Summer Vacation Records" which belongs to the year *hsin ch'ou* and is called *Hsin Ch'ou Hsiao Hsia Lu*. It is also inferior to the masterly work of Chiang Ts'un.

"Ink Remains" (*Mo Yüan Hui Kuan*), by An I-chou, was reprinted by the late Tuan Fang during his retirement in Peking after having been viceroy of the metropolitan province of Chihli. The author was a Corean salt merchant, resident in Tientsin, who had acquired a good education in Chinese literature. He was a close friend and protégé of the statesman Ming Chu, who was a favorite of the Emperor K'ang Hsi. This friendship finally brought An I-chou into trouble, and his property was confiscated. His collection of writings and paintings, which was one of the best ever owned by a private individual, was scattered, but later mostly brought together into the Imperial Collection of Ch'ien Lung through the efforts of the Tutor, Shên Tê-chien (1673-1770). "Ink Remains" is an acknowledged authority among Chinese connoisseurs. The Introduction is a critical review of the development of the art of painting.

The paintings mentioned in *Shih Chü Pao Chi* are arranged according to their location in the various halls of the imperial palace, and not according to the time they were painted or the class of paintings to which they belong. This makes research in this book extremely difficult. Important lists of paintings are found in Volumes VII, VIII, IX, XVI, XVII, XVIII, XIX, and XX. The paintings mentioned in these various volumes do not go back to a time earlier than the T'ang dynasty. There is another account of the collections in the palaces, which is contained in the book *Hsi Ch'ing Tsa Chi*, together with its supplement on "The Imperial Academy of Painting of the Ch'ing Dynasty" (*Kuo Ch'ao Yüan Hua Lu*), and on "An Examination of the Paintings Contained in the Nan Hsün Hall" (*Nan Hsün Tien T'u Hsiang K'ao*). The paintings noted in these volumes are not arranged according to period or class, but in the order in which they were examined by the authors of this book. The contents of the Imperial Collection were checked by a group of scholars in 1922, and I have seen a copy of the catalogue pre-

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pared by them. It gives a list of the paintings and writings, which in all important respects is the same as that contained in the *Shih Chü Pao Chi* and the *Hsi Ch'ing Tsa Chi*. This catalogue adds in some instances the opinion of these scholars as to the quality of paintings, whether they are very good (*shang shang*) or mediocre (*chung shang*) or not genuine (*wei*), but adds no comments.

"Biographies of Painters" (*Hua Shih Hui Chuan*) was written by P'êng Wên-ts'an of Ch'ang-chow, assisted by a small group of neighboring scholars. It contains the names of more than 7,500 painters and gives a brief sketch of their lives. The information was gathered from 1,266 books, a list of which is contained in the Preface. It is an invaluable manual for the student of Chinese paintings, but must be used with discretion. Many of the statements are taken from local topographies and cannot be accepted as accurate without some other evidence. It does not attempt to give any comparative estimate of the quality of the work of an artist; it simply records the fact of his having been a painter of landscapes, birds and flowers, or figures, as the case happened to be. He may have been an inferior painter none of whose pictures is preserved, but he receives the same notice in this book as the great masters. It was written during the early years of the nineteenth century, but present editions give the names of artists down to about 1855, thus showing that later additions must have been made.

There are many other publications of great value, but of minor importance when compared with those which have been mentioned in detail in the preceding paragraphs. *T'u Hui Pao Chien*, by Hsia Wên-yen of the Yüan dynasty, gives the biographies of painters down to his own period. This was supplemented by two later writers: first by Han Ang who added notes on painters down to the Chêng Tê period (1506-21); and later by Chou Liang-kung (1612-72), author of "Records of My Studies of Paintings" (*T'u Hua Lu*), who brought the notes down to the time of K'ang Hsi. "The Observations of Jang Li Kuan" (*Jang Li Kuan Kuo Yen Lu*), by Lu Hsin-yüan, is the work of a careful scholar and follows the model of "Summer Vacation Studies," by Kao Shih-ch'i. Its chief value is in its estimates of the painters of the early part of the late Manchu dynasty, such as the Four Wang. *Wu*

Shêng Shih Shih is devoted to studies of the Ming dynasty painters, as a recent book by To Chén entitled *Kuo Ch'ao Shu Hua Chia Pi Lu*, published in 1911, treats exclusively of painters of the Manchu dynasty. "Writings and Paintings Seen in Wu and Yüeh" (*Wu Yüeh So Chien Shu Hua Lu*) was written by Lu Shih-hua in 1776. In the Introduction the author makes twenty-nine comments on paintings, and these are of great value. They show the critical spirit which is seen throughout this book. A recent book, *Hsü Chai Ming Hua Lu*, by P'ang Lai-ch'ên, is of doubtful value in its list of T'ang and Sung painters. Mr. P'ang is an eminent connoisseur and perfectly familiar with the literature of pictorial art from which he has acquired an intimate and accurate knowledge of the styles of early painters. He has used this remarkable knowledge in a way which fails to convince me of being justified for, seeing a painting which has the qualifications of paper or silk, ink and style used by a certain artist, Mr. P'ang has not hesitated to ascribe the painting to this artist without any documentary evidence. Whereas one need have no hesitation in accepting Mr. P'ang's opinion that each painting enumerated in the *Hsü Chai Ming Hua Lu* is in the style of the artist to whom it is assigned, doubt must be reserved as to whether or not it was actually painted by him. Someone else may have painted it in his style. As to the descriptions of Yüan, Ming, and Ch'ing pictures, these are valuable. The supplement, *Hsü Chai Ming Hua Hsü Lu*, published in 1925, is devoted to paintings of the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties, and is invaluable to students and collectors.

Fortunately there is little necessity of warning readers against poor scholarship or deliberate falsification in this class of writings. "The Records of the Hung Tou School" (*Hung Tou Shu Kuan Shu Hua Chi*) is an example of a poor critic. I have been told by persons who knew the author and saw his collection that he seemed to be sincere in his beliefs even though he was sadly misled. There is only one instance of a deliberate forgery of supposititious writings and paintings. This was done on such a large scale by the author of *Pao Hui Lu* that it would almost seem to have been meant to be a skit upon the fallible judgment of connoisseurs; but it also contains accounts of some genuine specimens.

There are many works on the technique of painting such as the *Chieh Tzü Yüan Hua Chuan*, translated in 1920 by Raphael Petrucci. There are books on the painting of bamboos (*chu p'u*), of prunus branches (*mei p'u*), and on other similar subjects. To these are related the books on illustrations of ink tablets (*mo p'u*), such as those of Fang Yü-lu and Ch'êng Chün-fang. In these have been preserved many of the best traditions of pictorial art. There are also many references in various collections of poetry to paintings and artists, but these are usually written in such laudatory terms that they are of no critical value.

From the foregoing short epitome of the literature of Chinese pictorial art it will be seen readily that there is a rich supply of descriptive and critical information. Unfortunately little of this has been made available to Western students through translations, although there have been many translations into the Japanese language. This array of authorities is sufficient, however, to convince anyone that there should be no attempt on the part of Western collectors to determine, presumptively in accordance with their own preconceived notions, the age and value of Chinese paintings. It may be safely assumed that every picture of artistic worth has been the object of careful examination by Chinese well versed in their own literature on this subject. It is idle folly to assert that the paintings of a particular period, such as that of the T'ang or the Sung or the Yüan, have certain definite characteristics which are sufficient to guide a collector in determining the age in which a particular painting was produced, or in suggesting that a painting must have been the work of such and such an artist. Even a cursory reading of the literature of pictorial art is sufficient to show that there was a wide variety in the work of the various periods, and often in that of one artist. Such speculation as to age and authorship is unjustifiable in view of the possibility of confirming conclusions from recognized authorities. The *Cho Kêng Lu* (chap. xviii, p. 7), written by T'ao Tsung-i at the close of the Yüan dynasty, says that "people of the present age judge pictures according to their own tastes without any reference to traditional standards and without investigation of accepted records. What pleases them is good, and what they do not like is bad. If you ask them their

reason for considering a painting to be good, they become embarrassed and have nothing to say." This keen criticism might be made of some modern collectors, both Chinese and foreign. Chinese paintings may be collected according to individual taste, but it must be remembered that such taste has been acquired from occidental sources and therefore that it is frequently in discord with Chinese standards. No nation has ever been so careful in preserving records of its pictorial art as China, and nowhere has there been a better grade of scholarship introduced into the discussion of the merits of various productions. It is not claimed that mere knowledge of these literary records makes one a reliable critic, but it may be safely maintained without fear of successful contradiction that Chinese paintings cannot be accurately judged without a knowledge of these original sources.

III

TECHNIQUE

CHINESE paintings are found in three forms. There are hanging pictures (*chou*), scrolls (*chüan*), and album leaves (*chēh*). The hanging pictures are of various sizes, consisting sometimes of one whole piece of silk or paper and again being made up of two or three strips pasted together. Scrolls have one unbroken length when the scene depicted is restricted; when a series of events is recorded there will be frequently found in one scroll several lengths of silk or paper. Album leaves are usually painted on silk, but occasionally paper is used. In shape they are circular, square, or like a fan. This difference in the three forms of Chinese paintings is the usual basis of classification in collections and also in books on pictorial art. In describing paintings it is taken for granted that the painting (*t'u*) is a hanging picture unless a character meaning that it is either a scroll or an album leaf is added.

Paintings are usually found already mounted. I have never seen an unmounted picture except those which had been recently painted by an artist and kept in his own possession. The painting is stretched after moistening, is placed face downward on a smooth lacquer table, and then is backed with layers of thin paper. Original mountings (*chieh piao*) are occasionally found on paintings which are two or three hundred years old, but the earlier paintings have all been remounted (*huan chiu*) several times. There are fixed conventions as to the space left at the top of a picture compared with that at the bottom and at the sides. The proportion between the top and the bottom is usually as six is to four, i.e., if twelve inches are left at the top, eight inches must be left at the bottom, and two inches would usually be left at the side. The work of mounting has been carried to a high state of perfection in China, and infinite pains taken with every small detail. The quality and shade of silk used at the top and bottom of the picture are care-

fully selected so as to bring out its values. When a label is placed at the side of the painting it is written with great care by a calligraphist, and similar attention is given to the label on the outside of the picture. The handles of the hanging paintings are chosen so as to correspond with the appraised merit of the painting: wooden handles for ordinary paintings; ivory, cloisonné, jade, silver, or gold being used for the best grade of paintings according to the taste and means of the owner. Scrolls are handled with meticulous care. In addition to the ordinary attention paid to hanging pictures, good mounting of scrolls demands that the ends of the cylinder on which the scroll is rolled shall be of jade or some precious stone which will harmonize with the colors of the scroll. The outer covering of silk or brocade must also be chosen with great care. On the scroll "Home Again," by Ch'ien Hsüan, the outer covering was made of the finest quality of Sung dynasty tapestry—*k'o-ssü*. Rare specimens of early brocades are also frequently found as covers of scrolls. Album leaves are mounted either on the face of album pages or carefully set into thick paper so that the surface of the painting is flush with the surrounding edges. In remounting old pictures which have blank spaces due to the ravages of moths or mildew, it is customary for the mounter to call to his aid the services of a painter who touches up these spots with ink or colors so that they will not detract from the general effect of the painting. It is always easy to see where these repairs have been made by holding a painting up to the light. It is erroneously thought by some persons that this process of retouching is done solely for venal purposes; the fact is that every good Chinese collector always considers it as an essential part of the process of remounting.

In the Sung dynasty Academy of Painting it was not uncommon to have the silk on which the artist painted first backed with a good quality of paper to which the silk was pasted. The silk, being more or less porous and consisting of meshes, allowed the ink to penetrate to the surface of the paper backing. This paper backing was called "soul paper" (*hun chih*), for the reason that it could receive on its surface the real soul of the artist. Not infrequently the original paper backing has been separated from the

silk, and dealers have succeeded in making two pictures out of a single original, one being of silk and the other of paper.

As to the details of artistic performance, paintings are divided into two classes. When the brushwork is delicate and the coloring is exquisite, this class of work is called "elaborate" (*kung-pi*). When the motions of the brush are free and easy so that the forms produced are full of life, it is called "spontaneous" (*hsieh-i*). This distinction of artistic conception is fundamental. As examples of spontaneous work, Wu Tao-tzü and Li Kung-lin may be mentioned. These two artists were free, not only in their original conceptions, but also in their style of execution. Wang Wei of the T'ang dynasty, Kuo Chung-shu of the Sung dynasty, and Wang Hui of the Manchu dynasty worked in an elaborate style in which the greatest attention was paid to the details of brush strokes and coloring. According to these standards, paintings were distinguished for their excellence in composition, prolific fancy, and facility of execution, from those whose outstanding merits were grace and high finish.

The following "six canons" of painting (*liu fa*) were suggested by Hsieh Ho (A.D. 475):

1. The conception should possess harmony and vitality.
2. The brush should be used to establish the structural framework.
3. The outline should conform to the shape of the objects.
4. The coloring should be suitable to the varied forms.
5. The perspective should be correctly conceived.
6. The representation should be in conformity with the style selected.

The "six necessities" (*liu yao*) were formulated by Liu Tao-ch'un about the middle of the eleventh century. They are as follows:

1. Vitality of conception must be combined with strength.
2. Strokes of the brush must be firm.
3. Peculiarities of method should be in accordance with reasonableness.
4. Colors should be harmonious.
5. The brush must be handled with ease.
6. In copying leave out all that is inferior.

The "three faults" (*san ping*) were first presented by Kuo Jo-hsü about A.D. 1100 in his "Treatise on Painting." They are:

1. A weak wrist, which results in a stupid brush. Equilibrium is lacking; objects have a flat appearance and cannot be represented in relief.
2. Lack of co-ordination, when the mind and hand are not in accord. Such painting only produces angles.
3. Failure to progress from one point to another. Development is necessary but does not come. Something seems to hold back the brush and prevent free movement.

It is customary to divide paintings into *san ping*, three general classes—*shên*, *miao*, and *nêng*. Each of these three is divided into three subclasses—superior, medium, and inferior. This classification was recorded by Chu Ching-hsüan (about A.D. 1000) in his *T'ang ch'ao Ming Hua Lu*, and was later explained by Hsia Wênyen in his *T'u Hui Pao Chien* as follows:

1. Shên pictures are those in which the heaven-inspired quality of vitality is found.
2. Miao pictures are those in which the brushwork is of a high order, where the colors are harmonious and where there is grace or charm.
3. Nêng pictures are those in which strength is found without sacrifice of form.

A fourth class (*i*) is sometimes given, but its use has not been uniform. The usual custom allows only three classes.

It has been customary throughout the history of Chinese pictorial art for artists to choose, generation after generation, certain great subjects for their paintings. In religious paintings "The Goddess of Mercy, Kuan Yin"; "The Presentation of Buddha"; portraits of Wei Mo and of Ta Mo; "The Eighteen Lohans," "The Sixteen Lohans"; and "The Five Hundred Disciples" have been depicted not only in conventional forms, but treated by various artists with a high degree of originality. Among historic figures there have been paintings of Hsi Wang Mu and of Mu Wang, the great heroes of fairyland; of the various heroes mentioned in "The Nine Songs"; of Su Yo-lan, the famous beauty; of Chu-ko Liang and Kuo Tzü-i, famous

warriors; and of Wang Ch'iang, the princess who was sent as a bride to the Turkic chieftain. Among historic places artists have delighted to commemorate the Western Garden (Hsi Yüan); the imaginative garden of Wang Wei called Wang Ch'uan; Ten Thousand *Li* of the Long River, the name by which the Yangtse is known; scenes on the Hsiao and Hsiang rivers in Hunan Province; lake scenes from the Hsi Hu and the T'ai Hu; noted hills such as the Sung Mountain, the Kuei-chi Mountains, and the T'ien-t'ai Range. The palaces such as those of the Three Happy Isles, the Ta Ming Kung, Wei Yang Kung, Kan Ch'üan Kung, have been sketched by artists of all periods. When these classical subjects are treated in an original manner by the artist, even though the subject is a conventional one, the painting is of exceptional value.

Frequently copies have been made by later artists of the work of their predecessors. There are three recognized methods of copying. One is a tracing (*mo*, or *mo miao*), which is done by placing thin paper over the original and thus making a copy. A second process is that of reproduction (*ling*), in which as faithful a copy as possible is made from an original placed before the artist. The third method is that of interpretation (*fang*). This is a method which has been followed by many great artists. Yen Wên-kuei and Liu Sung-nien made interpretative studies of earlier landscape artists. Tung Ch'i-ch'ang in the Ming dynasty, Wang Hui and Wu Li in the Manchu dynasty, made noteworthy interpretative pictures of the Sung dynasty landscapists. Wang Hui used both the method of reproduction and of interpretation. He reproduced the work of Tung Yüan and of Chiang Ts'an, and he interpreted that of Chü Jan, Ching Hao, and Ni Tsan. These interpretations must not be confounded with copies, for the artists who produced them only painted under the influence of and in reverence for great masters. This method, it will be remembered, was used in Europe by Titian, Rubens, Delacroix, and other great painters who made interpretations of the masters they admired. "The Souvenir of Velasquez," by Millais, is not considered to be a copy of Velasquez, but is a picture of an Infanta done by Millais in honor of the style of Velasquez. This is the way in which many Chinese paintings by later artists in the style of earlier ones must be

considered. They are not slavish copies, nor are they reproductions; they are interpretations. It is to be taken for granted that China has not been free from the curse of imitations (*wei*), in which the names of famous artists have been attached to paintings for which they are not responsible. Fortunately it is usually possible to detect these forgeries on account of the abundance of literary references to paintings. During the reign of Ch'ien Lung, when there was an unusually brilliant coterie of talented men connected with the palace, fanciful sketches were made to which the names of famous artists were attached with signatures made in their style of writing, and with annotations of other famous men also written in their distinguishing styles. This was a playful practice in which each participant endeavored to excel his associates by proving his ability to imitate various styles of painting and writing. Several examples of such paintings have recently come to light. They are most interesting but should not mislead careful students. One of the most skilful imitators of that period was Wang T'uiku, who could duplicate any kind of writing and was himself by no means a mediocre painter.

It was not usual until the beginning of the Sung dynasty for artists to add colophons to their paintings, giving the name and residence of the artist together with the date of production. Such signatures are of great assistance in determining the authenticity of paintings, for these can be compared with facsimiles which have been preserved on stones and in manuscripts. They are often forged by later imitators, but can be readily detected by those who have made a careful study of Chinese writing. The addition of annotations on the face or border of hanging paintings and at the end of scrolls also affords help in determining the periods to which pictures belong. These annotations are of two different kinds: one which is expository (*t'i-pa*), and the other laudatory in poetical form (*shib-ko*). The annotations on noted paintings have been collected for many centuries and form a vast literature in themselves. The expository annotations of Mi Fei, Su Shih, Chao Meng-fu, Ni Tsan, Yüan Chio, Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, and Shên Chou add very much to our knowledge of Chinese paintings; whereas poetical comments such as those of the Emperor Ch'ien Lung add nothing.

These colophons and annotations are further certified by seals of the artist or commentator. The identification of seals requires special study, but there are books available which describe in detail and with facsimiles the seals of well-known men.

The necessary equipment of an artist consists of writing-brushes, ink and colors, and the paper or silk on which he paints. He has no palette. His colors are mixed preferably in his brush just previous to use, otherwise he uses a small porcelain dish divided into compartments. He has no easel, but places his silk or paper flat on a large table, usually sitting at his work. A dish of water also is always found on his table. When it is desired to dry colors quickly, chalk is sprinkled over the surface. This is removed with a duster made of fine fur.

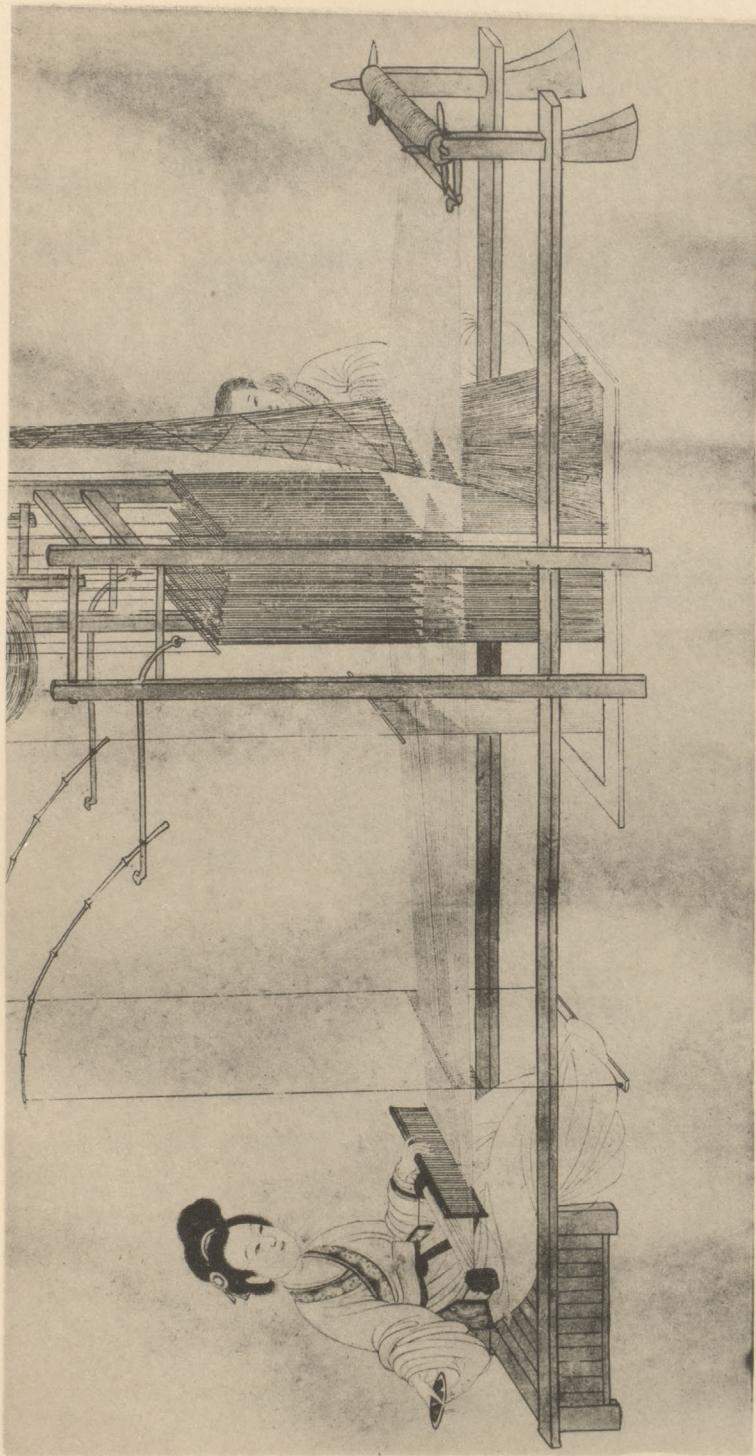
The brushes used by an artist are the same as those of the calligraphist. At the present time these brushes are made in eight or ten sizes, but usually an artist does not employ more than five sizes. The fine, delicate brush is made of hairs from sable-skins, and the very large coarse brush is made of bristles from the necks of pigs. Other brushes are made of hair from deer, goats, rabbits, or foxes. Chicken-down is also made into brushes, and one very fine variety is made of the hair of very young children. The introduction of the writing-brush, during the Ch'in dynasty, is usually ascribed to Mêng T'ien who died 209 B.C. He was a general of the first emperor, Shih Huang, and in charge of the building of the Great Wall. There are many fanciful tales concerning this discovery. One of these is that Ts'ang Chieh, who is the legendary inventor of the art of writing, mixed the tassels of ripe corn with glue and paint, thus making a crude ink for writing; he used the horn of a rhinoceros for a handle, and ivory from an elephant's tusk as a writing instrument, thus being the original inventor of the brush. In the twenty-fifth volume of the Buddhistic book, *Fah Yüan Chu Lin*, written by Tao-shih in A.D. 668, it is said that in ancient times a famous immortal desired to preserve his thoughts. He used the skin of his body as paper, his blood as ink, and one of his bones as a pen. Several authorities place the invention of the pen earlier than Mêng T'ien. The *K'un Hsüeh Chi Wén*, written by Wang Ying-lin during the Yüan dynasty, mentions an inscription

of T'ai Kung Wang in which reference is made to the hair out of which pens are made (*hao mao*), thus implying that brushes made from hairs were used at the time of T'ai Kung Wang, who lived in the twelfth century B.C. The *Yüan Shen Ch'i* as preserved in various miscellaneous writings states that Confucius used a brush (*pi*) in composing the *Hsiao King*. Writing implements in ancient times were known by different names. In the kingdom of Ch'u a brush was called *yü*; in Wu it was called *pu-lü*; in Yen it was called *fu*. A reasonable explanation of the conflicting statements as to the discovery of the brush is that whereas brushes of various kinds were used in ancient times, the present name, *pi*, was definitely adopted during the Ch'in dynasty, and that Mêng T'ien was responsible for calling the brush by this name.

Black ink is frequently the only color found in a Chinese painting. It is uncertain when ink was first produced. One of the earliest literary references to ink is that of the poet Ts'ao Chih (A.D. 192-232), who said "Ink is made of black soot obtained from pine wood." The process of mixing lampblack with glue and thus producing a thick substance which could easily be cast into molds was probably known at a very early date, though according to the *Cho Kéng Lu*, lampblack (*yu yen*) only came to be used in the Sung dynasty. Glue was made from the hides of various types of animals, the earliest probably being that of deer. The glue made from donkey hides and mixed with the mineral substances contained in the water of Tung-o Hsien, Shantung province, is said to be of the best quality. Such glue is called *o chiao*. It is of the color of amber, is glossy, and has no odor. Ink made in this way is called "glue ink" (*chiao mo*), or sometimes also "pine-soot ink" (*sung-yen mo*), and is the kind that is usually found in paintings and scripts previous to the end of the Yüan dynasty. It was also used by Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, Wu Wei, and Fu Shan of later times. It is always jet black and glossy like varnish. It is different from Ming ink (*Ming mo*), as used by Shên Chou, T'ang Yin, Wên Chên-ming, and Ch'iu Ying, which is lacking in depth of color and is never glossy. These two qualities are also absent from "lampblack ink" (*yu mo*), which is in general use at the present time. Cakes of ink are made in many shapes and are elaborately decorated with scenes such as are

found in paintings and with facsimiles of inscriptions by noted writers. Designs and decorations of ink form a branch of art which is fully discussed in the two well-known books, *Ch'eng Shih Mo Yüan* and *Fang Shih Mo P'u*. Frequently ink cakes are scented with a delicate perfume.

The various colors used by artists have always been mineral, and have been produced by the fine grinding of stones. The Chinese regard color in paintings as a secondary quality, its only function being to make the picture agreeable. They have ranked design above color, and many artists have even gone to the extent of considering color a dangerous obstacle to good work. Their emphasis has been upon composition and strength of brush strokes. When they used colors they took good care to grind these themselves so as to suit exactly their own individual tastes. Painting in oil colors was known at a very early date in China but was discarded not later than the third century A.D. in favor of water colors, which have been the medium of expression ever since. This is in marked contrast to the history of European painting which, since the Van Eycks at the middle of the fifteenth century, has been almost exclusively done in oils. Robert Fry in the *Burlington Magazine* for June, 1923, makes the following remarks: "One cannot doubt then that the mere presence or absence in a given period of some particular medium may determine the success or failure of certain talents. With such experiences in mind one may speculate, uselessly no doubt, but agreeably, upon what might have happened to the pictorial art of China if the Chinese had ever developed the possibilities of oil painting, and had not confined their pictorial vision within the clearly fixed limitations of gouache upon silk or paper." The only comment that can be made upon what Mr. Fry has said is that the instinct of Chinese artists led them to prefer the use of water colors for the reason that these form a more delicate medium of expression than painting in oils, and also that water colors lend themselves more readily to the use of the fine brushes which were equally adaptable to calligraphy or painting. Their preference for water colors is explained on the same basis as the choice of bronze in their early history instead of iron as being both more delicate and also more difficult to manipulate.



WEAVING, BY CH'U YING, FROM THE SCROLL "NOTED WOMEN OF ANTIQUITY".

The invention of paper is clouded in the same mystery as that of the writing-brush, but it is usually ascribed to Ts'ai Lun of the later Han dynasty, who rose to prominence during the reign of Ho Ti (A.D. 89-106). Ts'ai Lun used a coarse gauze made of hemp to cover the surface of the paper pulp, and this was called "hemp paper" (*ma chih*). He also used the inner bark of trees, and this quality was called "grain paper" (*ku chih*). As hemp is one of the "five grains," this distinction of two qualities of early paper is probably an after-thought of a later period. Another famous name in the early production of paper is that of the courtesan Hsieh T'ao, of the ninth century, who invented the kind known as "Ssü-ch'uan paper" (*shu chien*). This variety had three grades known as *tsé-li*, *sung-hua*, and *yü tzü*. The *tsé-li* grade is the only kind of which there is any accurate record. This was made in double sheets each of which was four feet wide and six feet long. The earliest paper which I have seen is a specimen of bamboo paper (*chuh chih*). As its name indicates, it is made of bamboo pulp, is thick, and has a rough surface. Over it is a loosely woven silk mesh, which, it appears, was intended as a protection. The artist, Wei Hsieh, in the fourth century A.D., is known to have used this variety of paper. During the T'ang dynasty there were two kinds of hemp paper used one white and the other yellow. The white variety was used by Wu Tao-tzü, Liu Shang, and other artists of this period. It is thick and has a rough surface which, under the microscope, plainly exhibits hemp fibers. The Five Dynasties and the Sung witnessed the introduction of a finer quality of paper called *chéng hsin t'ang*. It is said to have been invented by Li Hou-chu of the later T'ang dynasty (A.D. 923-34). This paper is fine, thin, and has a smooth surface. It is the best quality of paper that has ever been produced in China and was used by Li Kung-lin, Ch'ien Hsüan, and other great artists of the Sung and Yüan periods. The paper of the Ming dynasty, called *ta-chien* and *hsiao-chien*, was of inferior quality, but relief from it was found by artists and writers in the introduction of silk-cocoon paper from Corea (*Kao-li chien chih*). However, this new paper proved to be too glossy to take ink well, and after a brief popularity fell into disuse. The same type of paper that was made in the Ming dynasty is still produced. During the Ch'ien Lung period artists

employed paper made of several thin layers carefully glued together. No matter what variety of paper an artist used it was customary for him to prepare it first by washing it with a weak lye, obtained usually from the pods of the *Gymnocladus chinensis* (*tsao chia tzü*), and then sizing with alum.

Various varieties of silks have been used for paintings. There was a coarse silk known as *chüan* and divided into two classes, one unsized (*séng*), the other sized (*shu*). There was also white silk known as *chien*; and a thin silk gauze known as *ling*. Silk was used for paintings more often than paper, which was reserved for script, but some artists used both materials. It is said of Li Kung-lin that he always used paper for original paintings and silk for reproductions of the work of others. Those who had the most perfect control of their brushes, like Mi Fei and Chao Meng-fu, used paper for their best work. The earliest silk was coarsely woven. It is doubtful whether or not we have any existing samples of silk anterior to the T'ang dynasty, though it is claimed that there are paintings of the Han dynasty done on silk of that period in the Stein Collection of the British Museum, taken from the Tun-huang stone house. I have a sample of this silk, and cannot distinguish it in any way from the coarse silk (*séng chüan*) of the T'ang dynasty, of which there are detailed descriptions in literature and of which I have an example. This kind of silk was used by Yen Li-pêng. There is also another type of T'ang silk which is called *lien chüan* ("prepared silk"). It is silk which has been beaten on a polished stone with a stick, sometimes covered with silver, until the interstices between the threads are filled and the silk has a continuous surface. This prepared silk was first used by Chou Fang in his delineation of court scenes, and an example of it may be seen in the scroll by him in the Metropolitan Museum. The silk of the Sung dynasty had double strands for both warp and woof, being called *shuang-ssü chüan*; or the warp had double strands and the woof a single one. The latter was called *tan ssü chüan*. In addition to this silk, there was a coarser type known as "academy silk" (*yüan chüan*), on account of its having been especially prepared for the use of the academicians. It was woven into various widths, the widest being seven or eight feet. Many of the surviving

ancient pictures of China are on this type of silk. They were made in the Sung Academy of Painting and are reproductions of the work of great masters. The silk of the Yüan dynasty is practically the same as that of the Sung, with the exception that the double-stranded variety does not seem to have been produced. The Ming dynasty silk has single coarse strands both for warp and woof. It is similar to the coarse silk of the T'ang dynasty, but more closely woven. It was customary for early artists to size their own silk, but at the present time artists purchase from shops silk that has already been sized. The texture of the various types of silk can be seen from the accompanying illustrations.

During the Ming dynasty there was still available quite a large supply of silk and paper made during the Sung dynasty, and it was common for artists of the Ming dynasty to use these materials of an earlier age. In the records of the Imperial Collection during the reign of the Emperor Ch'ien Lung as found in *Shih Chü* (VIII, 26) examples are given of Ming dynasty paintings which were done on the paper or silk of the Sung dynasty.

These details of the materials used have been given as aids in determining the period to which paintings should be correctly assigned. While it is always possible that a picture painted at the beginning of the Ming dynasty may be on Sung dynasty silk and done with Sung dynasty ink, both of which had been carefully preserved, it is obvious that no Sung dynasty painting could have had silk or ink of the later Ming. It is idle to discuss the age of paintings solely on the basis of their style, for the great masters used different styles. Even the quality of work is not a sure guide, for this was never uniform, the same artist frequently having left both good and indifferent specimens. The paper or silk, the ink, the color value of the pigments, must all be given due consideration, along with the signature, seals, and annotations. The aesthetic value may suffice for one who is indifferent to the origin of a picture, but it is only one of many essentials which must be determined when the question arises as to who painted a certain picture. Then information must be obtained from all available sources, and in this search the quality of paper, silk, and ink is important evidence.

CHINESE PAINTING

40

There are two classes of people who are interested in paintings: collectors and connoisseurs. Mi Fei of the Sung dynasty said that these two classes had a very different approach to paintings. Collectors are usually wealthy persons who desire to make a name for themselves and purchase what is pleasing to them. On the other hand, connoisseurs are persons with natural artistic ability who take infinite pains to see all that they can. Every painting which comes under their observation is carefully examined; and if they are fortunate enough to be able to secure one they treasure it as a great prize. This critical opinion of Mi Fei, who lived in the eleventh century, commands attention at the present time. Chang Yen-yüan, an earlier critic than Mi Fei, remarked that there were those who collected but did not know how to discriminate; that there were those who found pleasure in their possessions, but did not know how to preserve them; that there were those who knew how to preserve them but could not classify them according to their merit. The ability to judge and the capacity to enjoy are, according to Chinese critics, the true tests of a connoisseur.

IV

EARLY PAINTERS

THE origin of painting in China is very remote. It extends back at least into the period of the Chow dynasty several hundred years before Christ; but up to the present time no traces of early specimens of this art have been discovered, though carefully preserved historical records give the names of early painters and many details of their works. It began, according to tradition, with map-drawing and extended during the Chow dynasty to articles used in the elaborate ritual of that period. The nine flags (*chiu ch'i*) mentioned in the *Chow Li*, the vestments and headgear (*chiu chang*) used in ceremonial observances, the patterns of bronze vessels, the adornment of doors and screens—these all called for pictorial representation. In the Ch'in dynasty the plans of the magnificent palaces, such as Wei Yang Kung and Kan Ch'üan Kung, must have called for artists of high ability, and in the Han Dynasty their numbers increased on account of the rapid spread of civilizing influences. The earliest paintings were done on coarse hemp cloth in paint mixed with oils. With the invention of ink, the writing-brush, and paper, the coarser materials were discarded in favor of the more delicate and refined water-color painting which has been in continuous use from the Han dynasty down to our times.

Pictures by Han artists were frequently reproduced on stone tablets, and it is certain that as these are recovered and the comparison of literary records with them progresses we shall discover some valuable reproductions of the work of early painters. The records of the dynasties of T'ang (A.D. 618-906) and of Sung (A.D. 960-1280) show that the paintings of the earlier dynasties were frequently copied by famous artists. The purpose of such copying was not only to show an appreciation of the worth of these earlier paintings, but also to preserve their style. It is due to the diligence of these copyists that we now have accurate reproductions of the style of the work of such

artists as Ku K'ai-chih of the Eastern Chin dynasty and of Chan Tzü-ch'ien of the Sui. The authenticated specimens of original Chinese paintings which have been known to connoisseurs in China during the late Manchu dynasty only extend back to Li Ssü-hsün (about A.D. 700) of the T'ang dynasty, and this date is a safe point of departure for the study of the development of Chinese painting. The traditions, ideals, and canons of the earlier periods of pictorial art were preserved and transmitted by T'ang and Sung artists. It is not at all probable that we should learn any new facts about early Chinese painting even if discoveries of specimens antedating the T'ang dynasty were to be made, for the literary records and the artistic reproductions of this and later periods are fully illustrative of the earlier products. Even the preservation of such early specimens as the paintings of Li Ssü-hsün has been difficult on account of the frailty of the silk and paper on which they have been painted.

The earliest painting reproduced is one of Mao Yen-shou who lived during the reign of the Emperor Yüan Ti (48-32 B.C.). This painting was reproduced by the Emperor Hui Tsung of the Sung dynasty in his "Copies of Ancient Paintings" (*Hsüan Ho Ling Ku*), now in the Imperial Collection of the Manchu dynasty at Peking. The subject of this painting is "A Lone Fisherman" (*Ch'in Chiang Ch'ing Tiao*). It represents an old man sitting in a small boat among the rushes holding in his hand a fishing pole on which is a reel. On the narrow neck of land behind the fisherman is a gnarled pine tree at the back of which is a large rock surmounted with bushes. On the opposite side of the river there are several hills with narrow projections of land extending into the river. A flock of ducks is flying over the river in the direction of the fisherman. The inscription on the painting written by Hui Tsung states that this is an interpretation of the style (*fang*) of Mao Yen-shou, but gives no information as to the original from which it was taken. It is a fascinating piece of painting, and is a tribute to the belief of the Emperor Hui Tsung that painting had reached an advanced stage at that early period. Historical records give very little information as to the life of this painter, Mao Yen-shou, beyond the legend which narrates his painting likenesses of the inmates of Yüan Ti's palace. It is said that he was in-



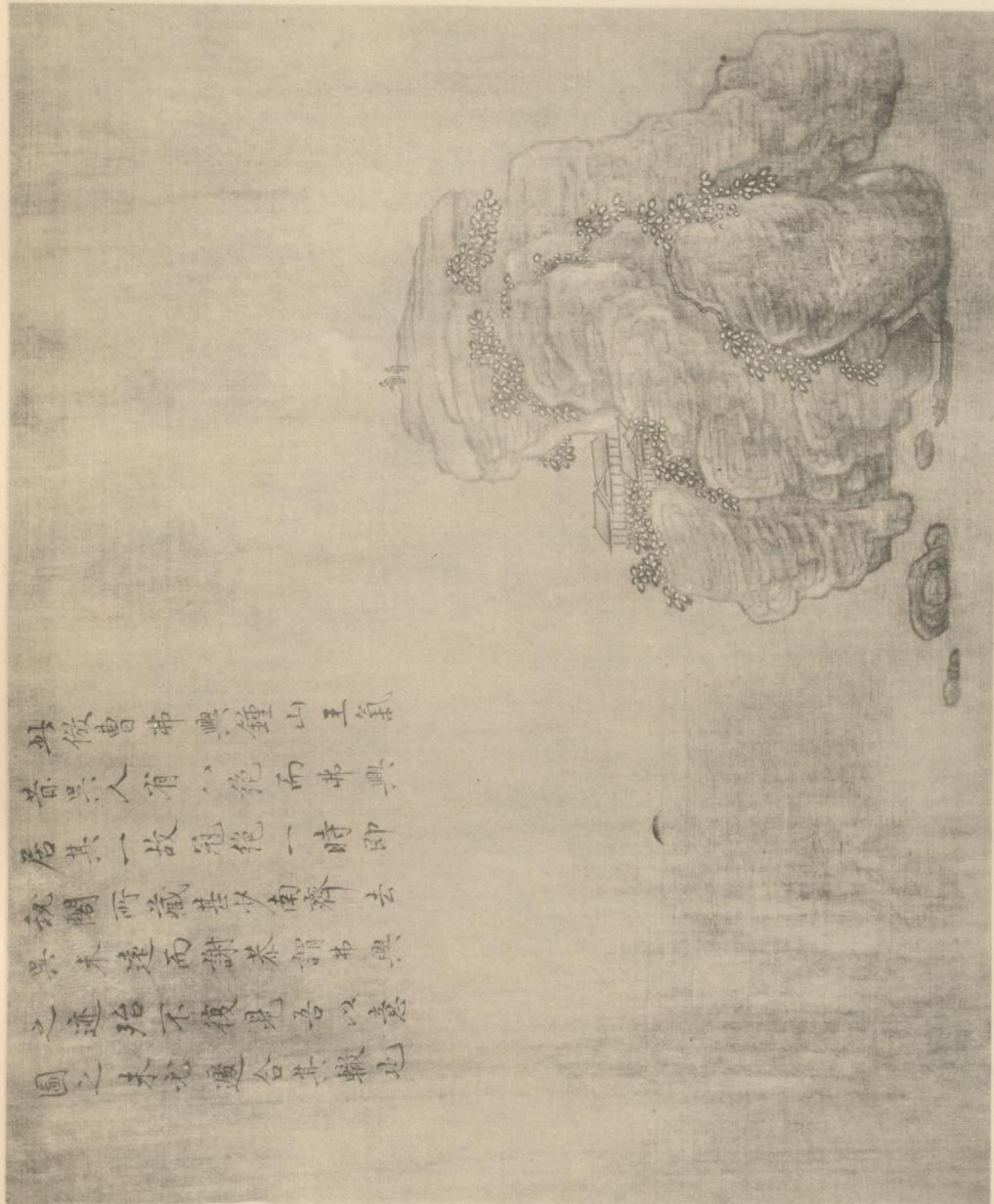
A LONE FISHERMAN, STYLE OF MAO YEN-SHOU

structed by the emperor to paint the portraits of the palace ladies, and that all of them bribed him to make beautiful representations of themselves, with the exception of Wang Ch'iang, who is also known as Chao Chün. When the barbarian tribes of Hsiung-nu came to court asking for a palace lady who should become the princess of their chieftain, Wang Ch'iang was selected as being the one whose portrait was least pleasing to the emperor, and an agreement was made that she should be sent as a gift from the emperor. Before departing on her long journey she was presented to the emperor, who immediately recognized her beauty as far superior to that of any other of his ladies. The emperor too late tried to detain her, but the emissaries of the Hsiung-nu insisted upon their bargain. With profound sorrow the emperor saw this beauty leave his palace. The journey to her distant home has been frequently painted by noted artists, among whom was Su Han-ch'én of the Southern Sung dynasty in a painting which is recorded to have been in the collection of the Emperor Hsien Fêng (A.D. 1851-62). The landscape painting of Mao Yen-shou, reproduced by Hui Tsung, is of such high quality and delicacy as might be expected in the work of a nation which had already produced remarkable designs on bronze and jade. These must have been produced from carefully prepared patterns made by skilful artists. As decorations on existing bronzes carry us back two millenniums before the Christian era, it is to be expected that painters in the time of Mao Yen-shou, i.e., the first century A.D., must have been able to produce work of a high order. Hui Tsung lived at the close of the eleventh century A.D., and his reproduction of a painting by Mao Yen-shou bridges over the wide period of time between the first century B.C. and the present. The certainty that this reproduction was painted by the Emperor Hui Tsung, or at least under his orders, is fully guaranteed by the annotation made in the handwriting of the emperor and certified by his seal (*Hsüan Ho Tien Pao*). Mêng T'ien's reputed invention of the brush had been made two centuries earlier than the time of this painter, Mao Yen-shou, so that the implements for executing such a wonderful picture were already at hand. There seems no adequate reason for disputing the possibility of Mao Yen-shou having been

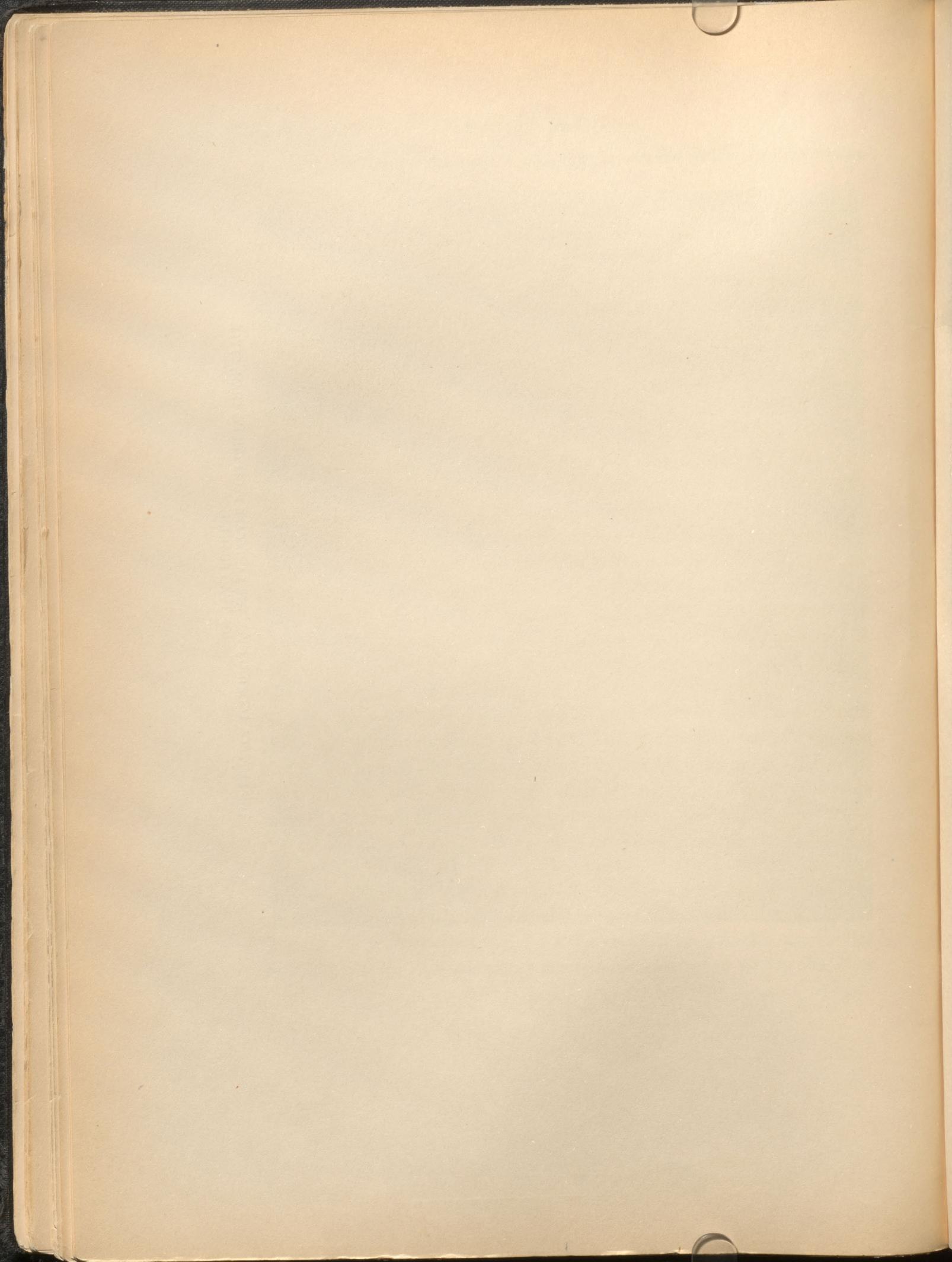
able to do such beautiful work as has been attributed to him by this reproduction of Hui Tsung.

Ts'ao Fu-hsing was a favorite of the first emperor of the Wu dynasty (A.D. 222-77). The capital city at that time was Nanking, and its beautiful surroundings furnished many pleasure excursions for the emperor, who usually took with him his favorite artist. One day on an excursion to Ch'ing-hsi, west of the city, the emperor saw a dragon coming up from the river and ordered Ts'ao Fu-hsing to paint the scene. The emperor was greatly pleased with the result and highly commended the artist, remarking that as long as there was a path open to the dragon the country would be prosperous, but if the road of the dragon were shut off, miseries would result. A hundred years later this encomium of the emperor was considered to have been prophetic, for during the reign of Wên Ti (A.D. 424-54) there was a drought of several months' duration. Prayers for rain were continually offered, but without avail. At last the dragon picture of Ts'ao Fu-hsing was spread out above the surface of the water, causing a dense mist and bringing rain. So realistic was the work of Ts'ao Fu-hsing considered to be that the efficacy of his painted dragon was as potent as that of a live one. The work of this artist was so highly prized and so frequently handled that it was said by Hsieh Ho of the Southern Ch'i dynasty that no specimens of it could be obtained. This must have been an exaggeration, for from the Sung dynasty down to the present time there are continuous records of reproductions of one picture by this artist called "The Military Tally" (*Ping Fu T'u*). This painting was in the collection of Chao Mêng-fu, and later in the collection of Han Tsung-po of the Ming dynasty. It had passed through many hands when I saw it in the collection of Ts'ai Po-hao, former Taotai of Shanghai. In the list of paintings belonging to the imperial palace of the Manchus there is another copy of "The Military Tally." It is probable that the opinion of T'ang Hou in his *Hua Chien* is correct when he says that he had seen "The Military Tally" in the home of a friend at Hangchow and that on the painting were an inscription and seal of the Emperor Shao Hsing (Kao Tsung) of the Southern Sung dynasty. T'ang Hou expresses the further opinion that this painting was produced during the latter part of the T'ang

THE EMPEROR LOOKING OVER THE LANDSCAPE FROM CHUNG SHAN, STYLE
OF TS'AO FU-HSING



外微曾弗聽鐘山王氣
昔吳人有八絕而弗與
居其一故冠絕一時即
秋閣所藏甚少南齊去
景未遠而謝恭謂弗與
之遂殆不復見吾以意
圖之未免過合其輒也



or the early part of the Sung dynasty. The copy which I saw in the possession of Mr. Ts'ai was on *ch'eng hsin t'ang* paper of the Sung dynasty type, and it appeared to me to be a copy made during the Northern Sung period. In the beautiful scroll, "Copies of Ancient Painting," by the Emperor Hui Tsung, to which reference was made in a preceding paragraph, there is a painting in the style of Ts'ao Fu-hsing. The subject of the painting is "The Emperor Looking Over the Landscape from Chung Shan" (*Chung Shan Wang Ch'i*). Chung Shan is the name of the mountain east of Nanking, which is generally known as Purple Mountain. Two figures are standing on the top of the hill looking eastward toward the river out of which the rising sun is showing as a small disk. Halfway down the mountain is a group of buildings in the usual form of mountain temples. There are a few trees on the surface of the mountain. The rocks seem rugged on account of the peculiar brush strokes which were made with ink well saturated in water. These two pictures are the only remains which we have of this painter whom his successors in pictorial art have regarded as semi-divine. The few incidents of his life which are known to us show that he was a lover of nature, and the copies of his paintings which have survived add their testimony to this legend.

The records of the Chin dynasty (A.D. 265-420) indicate a widened interest both in calligraphy and painting. In both of these arts this period produced great masters whose names are held in the highest veneration. Among these one of the first to attain to renown was Wei Hsieh. He painted portraits and religious subjects. The names of several of his pictures have been recorded, but only two of these survived the ravages of time. One was a picture of "Pien Chuang-tzü Baiting a Tiger" (*Pien Chuang-tzü Tz'u Hu*), the other, "Notable Scholars" (*Kao Shih*), both of which were in the Hsüan Ho Collection. The subjects of these two paintings are historical. Chuang-tzü, who was governor of Pien, was a hero of the Chow dynasty. He was fond of hunting tigers. One day he learned from Kuan Shu-tzü that an ox had been caught by two tigers and was being devoured by them. Kuan advised Chuang-tzü to watch the scene, and told him that the tigers would soon be found fighting each other—that one would be killed and the other

wounded. He could then easily kill the wounded one and thus secure both of the tigers with little exertion. The legend connected with the "Notable Scholars" is taken from classical sources. This painting has two figures who are placed in a background of landscape. The upper one is that of Ch'u K'uang who is mentioned in the *Analects* as having cursed Confucius; the lower figure is that of Liang Hung. Through their literary accomplishments these men had risen to high position from very humble origins. It is interesting to find the name of Liang Hung connected with this picture of "Notable Scholars," for he is also connected with the "Tilling and Weaving Pictures" (*Kēng Chih T'u*). His wife, who was very unattractive, possessed great strength and could undertake all forms of heavy work. Husband and wife assisted each other in tilling and spinning during the day, and in the evenings recited poetry and played on the lute. Their remarkable industry has been a model for all later time. The preservation of early historical incidents as interpreted by early painters has not only done much to preserve national spirit, but has also contributed to the homogeneity of the mental development of the Chinese people. The painting "Notable Scholars" was copied by Li Kung-lin in the Sung dynasty, and is said to have been well done even though the coarse silk on which it was executed detracted somewhat from its value. T'ang Hou, in the *Hua Chien*, classes Wei Hsieh as superior to Ku K'ai-chih, and this was the verdict also of other art critics. We can do nothing else than accept these opinions, for neither of his two paintings is in existence as far as is known. The only criterion by which we can judge of his style is the fanciful sketch made by the Emperor Hui Tsung; but if this sketch is a good reproduction of the style of Wei Hsieh, there is not much to admire in his style of painting. He had a pupil, Hsün Hsü, whose work has been highly commended. A landscape painting in the style of Hsün Hsü was made by the Emperor Hui Tsung, and it discloses a much higher grade of artistic conception than that displayed by his teacher.

The Emperor Ming Ti (A.D. 324-26) was, according to the *Hua Shih* of Mi Fei, a painter of no mean parts. The *Chéng Kuan Record* mentions eight pictures painted by that emperor, but of these only one, "The Feast of Mu Wang at the Yao Pond" (*Mu T'ien Tzǔ Yen Yao Ch'ib*), survived for several



世以衛協為盡聖即顧愷之以畫
自名亦謂偉而有情巧而難俗若
此寫其形似徐闔入其間與也

A FANCIFUL SKETCH, STYLE OF WEI HSIEH

generations. Ming Ti is known in the records of pictorial art by his family name, Ssü-ma Shao, or Ssü-ma Tao-chi. He was a pupil of Wang I, himself a famous artist, and the first of a long line of distinguished painters having the surname Wang. In the collection of Ching Hsien, Peking, is a scroll called "The Two Lights" (*Erb Kuan*), in which a red sun is setting in the west and a full moon rising in the east. The annotations of this painting claim that it is a copy of an original painting made by the Emperor Ming Ti. The only genuine interpretation of his style that is now in existence is that made by the Emperor Hui Tsung in his "Copies of Ancient Paintings" (*Hsüan Ho Ling Ku*). In this reproduction of Ming Ti's style, Hui Tsung depicts what appears to be a scene on the river to the east of Nanking. A scholar is seated in a rude pavilion surrounded by trees behind which high hills stretch up. In his annotation attached to this painting Hui Tsung says that the Emperor Ming Ti in his beautiful sketches of scenery around Nanking equaled in execution the work of the later great landscapists, Tung Yüan and Chü Jan.

Although among the early Chinese painters Ku K'ai-chih is not usually ranked by Chinese authorities as the greatest, among foreign students of Chinese pictorial art he stands supreme. This position is accorded to him largely for the reason that early reproductions of his work have survived to our time, and in this respect he stands alone among ancient painters. He was a man of brilliant parts, and the *Hsüan Ho Hua P'u* credits him with three kinds of unusual ability. It says that he was the greatest painter, the greatest *raconteur*, and the greatest genius of the early dynasties. Little is known of his life. He was a native of Wu-sih in Kiangsu Province, but the date of his birth is uncertain. In the history of the Chin dynasty it is said that his father, Ku Yüeh-chih, was of the same age as the Emperor Chien Wê Ti, who was born in A.D. 320. We also know that Ku K'ai-chih was assisted in his early career by Huan Wê and later by Yin Chung-k'an. Ku K'ai-chih was probably born about the middle of the fourth century, and died in the early years of the fifth. The Chin History says that he lived to be sixty-two years of age. It is therefore probable that Ku's lifetime was from about A.D. 350 to 412. Another version is given by Wu Jung-kuang in his "Biogra-

phies of Noted Men" (*Li Tai Ming Jen Nien P'u*), who places the date of the death of Ku K'ai-chih as the first year of the Emperor Huang Hsing (A.D. 467) of the Wei dynasty, the cyclical year Ping-wu, and says that he was then seventy-six. This would make the date of the birth of Ku K'ai-chih as 391, but this statement of Wu Jung-kuang is at variance with the generally accepted tradition that Ku K'ai-chih lived during the Chin dynasty. In accordance with the general custom of assigning a man to the dynasty during which he died rather than the one in which he was born, it is evident that Ku K'ai-chih, who is always placed in the Chin dynasty, died as well as lived during that dynasty. Wu Jung-kuang probably postdated by sixty years the death of Ku K'ai-chih as having occurred in the Ping-wu year. In addition to his literary accomplishments he was a constant traveler. He went as far west as the Lü Shan in Kiangsi Province and painted views of these famous mountains. He also visited the eastern part of Chekiang Province which was then known as Kuei-chi. On his return someone asked him about the appearance of the mountains and the water courses of Kuei-chi. Ku K'ai-chih replied that "a thousand peaks were struggling with beauty; ten thousand abysses were rivaling them with their torrents; the plants and trees covered everything like a rising cloud or like heavy mists." He chose a wide range of subjects for his paintings. The high quality of his famous painting of Wei Mo caused him to be regarded in the Hsüan Ho Collection as pre-eminently a painter of religious subjects. His portraits of famous people were renowned, and his landscape paintings were considered by early art critics to have been wonderful. He left his opinions on painting in a brochure called "Compendium on Painting" (*Hua P'ing*). This essay treats chiefly of the difficulties of painting portraits and animals. It insists upon the necessity of radiant life in the pictures and thus forms the basis of the first of the Six Canons of painting which were formulated at a later period. The essay also refers to landscape painting in which fidelity to nature is considered to be a most important element. One of the highest tributes to Ku K'ai-chih is given by Chang Yen-yüan in his essay on the "Records of Famous Painters" (*Li Tai Ming Hua Chi*). He refers to the spirituality of Ku's pictures in comparison with those of Chang Sêng-yu and



THE OLD SCHOLAR, STYLE OF THE EMPEROR MING TI (SSÜ-MA TAO-CHI)

Lu T'an-wei, and says that Chang could paint flesh and Lu could paint bones, but only Ku could paint the spirit.

There are four well-known pictures in existence which bear the name of Ku K'ai-chih. One of these is the picture of "Eminent Women" (*Lieh Nü*), which is in the Imperial Collection of the Manchu dynasty at Peking. One critic suggests that this painting is the same as "The Admonitions of an Imperial Preceptress" (*Nü Shih Chén*), in which there are many female figures, but this view is not sustained by other critics. This picture of "Eminent Women" represents many who were famous in the early traditions of China and whose portraits can be seen in the well-known book called "Records of Eminent Women" (*Lieh Nü Chuan*).

Another well-known painting of this artist is the scroll now belonging to the British Museum and known as "The Admonitions of an Imperial Preceptress" (*Nü Shih Chén*). The general character of this painting, the scenes depicted, and the surpassing excellence of its workmanship have been well described by Laurence Binyon in the *Burlington Magazine*, January, 1904. This scroll was reproduced in a colored woodcut in 1912, and the reproduction is so well done that it is possible for one who cannot examine the original to make a detailed study of this painting at leisure. Fortunately for me, in February, 1914, through the courtesy of Mr. Binyon, I was afforded the rare privilege of making a careful study of the original scroll. This examination was sufficient to determine the quality of the silk, to note the colors, and to attest the faithful reproduction of the seals, inscriptions, and colophons as a preliminary for further study of the beautiful reproduction. In company with a group of well-known art critics in Peking, such as Ching Hsien, King Kung-pa, Fêng En-k'un, and others, I have studied the woodcut reproduction of this scroll. It illustrates some of the historical incidents referred to by Chang Hua who wrote the "Admonitions" during the reign of Hui Ti (A.D. 290-306) of the Western Chin dynasty. These incidents were such as that of Fan Chi, who was able by her abstinence from animal food to influence her husband, Prince Chuang, to give up his fondness for the chase. Another is that of the Lady of Wei, who refused to listen to her husband, Huan Kung, while he sang the licentious

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Odes of Chêng which are recorded in the *Shih King*, Book VII. The next event is that of Empress Fêng who boldly faced a bear which had escaped from its cage and was about to attack the emperor. Following this is the story of the court favorite, Pan Chieh-yu, who declined the emperor's invitation to ride at his side in his chariot. These women were chosen for illustration in this scroll on account of their eminent virtue and as examples of the kind of obedience recommended in the "Admonitions" of Chang Hua. As illustrative of the temper of the times in which Ku K'ai-chih lived, the following translation of the "Admonitions" is given:

"No way has ever been prosperous that has not come to adversity; every living thing has flourished only later to decay. In a day changes come and at the waxing of the moon affairs sink into insignificance. A high hill is as a heap of dirt; changes come with the suddenness of a released trigger. Men understand to a certain extent how to improve their own dispositions. Without improvement of disposition they are liable to overstep the laws of propriety. By cleaving and carving they can set themselves to becoming holy. If they speak with discretion, people for a thousand *li* follow their advice, but if the laws of righteousness are set aside, even in conjugal relations there is suspicion. They use words as if it were a trifling matter, and yet their glory or their shame is judged thereby. Do not talk of secrecy, for Heaven peers into things which have not yet taken shape. Do not talk of black emptiness, for the gods hear even when there are no sounds. Do not boast of your glory. God's truth hates self-sufficiency. Do not presume upon your high position, for the most prosperous come to naught. When the small stars of the early morning are mirrored in the sky, follow my warnings and you will be abundantly blessed with children according to the desires of your heart. Your prosperity should never become rudeness nor your riches be enjoyed selfishly. Selfishness begets neglect. If you love only the choicest favors they will disappear; your abundance will perish. This is a fixed law. Beauty should be natural. When it is artificial it brings trouble upon itself. A bewitching countenance that tries to show itself is always detested by a man of breeding. Closely knitted benignity will disappear and this will be the cause of it. Therefore there is the saying 'respect-

A LANDSCAPE, STYLE OF KU K'AI-CHIH



顧惟之天才傑出妙造精微獨步
無偶雖有衛晉宋之以方其人
昔人謂守其神專其一假三十之
筆合造化之功所謂意存筆先畫
素在凡夫之目者皆如是耳

ful and careful.' Thus will your happiness be complete; tranquillity and respect will be in your own thoughts and your honor will be resplendent. These admonitions prescribed by an Imperial Preceptress are boldly addressed to all ladies of the Palace."

As to the age of this scroll, it seems to me probable that it dates from the T'ang dynasty. In the records of the paintings in the collection of the Emperor Ch'ien Lung (*Hsi Ch'ing Ts'a Chi*, III, 22), conflicting comments concerning it are recorded. These comments are as follows: "According to the *Hua Shih* of Mi Fei [Sung dynasty] the painting 'Admonitions' by Ku K'ai-chih is in the form of a scroll. It is full of life, brilliantly colored and executed with fine lines. . . . Ch'en Chi-ju, author of *Ni Ku Lu* [Yüan dynasty], speaking of the painting 'Admonitions' said that he had seen it at Wu-men [Soochow]. It was generally spoken of as the work of Ku K'ai-chih, but in reality it was painted early in the Sung dynasty. . . . The author of *Hsi Ch'ing Ts'a Chi* adds his own comment that 'upon further investigation it was found that this scroll, although painted in the splendid style of ancient times, was not the handiwork of Ku K'ai-chih, but was a copy by a T'ang artist.'" The commentator adds that the comment of Ch'en Chi-ju to the effect that it was a Sung dynasty copy was unfounded, meaning thereby that in his opinion this scroll is a T'ang painting and therefore earlier than the Sung. This opinion is confirmed by a careful study of the seals which had been impressed on various parts of the scroll. In all there are one hundred and twenty of these, and I have carefully examined each of them. With the assistance of the friends whose names I have mentioned, I have been able to recognize two seals which belong to the middle part of the T'ang dynasty. There are twenty seals belonging to the Sung dynasty, most of them being seals of the Emperor Hui Tsung or of his household department. There are two seals of Chia Ssü-tao who lived at the close of the Sung dynasty and held high official position. He was a noted art critic, and his opinions on early paintings are given great weight by early writers. After this scroll passed into the possession of Hsiang Yüan-pien of the Ming dynasty, it was literally plastered with his seals and those of his family, there being no less than fifty-four of them. The Emperor

Ch'ien Lung added to the disfigurement by placing on it twenty seals. There are also on the scroll two seals of the eminent collector and critic, An I-chou, and five of Liang Tsang-yen, the owner, who presented it to the Emperor Ch'ien Lung. The signature of Kuai-chih was evidently placed on it by the household department of the Emperor Hui Tsung when he included it in his collection, for it was not the custom at the time of Ku K'ai-chih to sign paintings. The silk on which this scroll is painted is of fine texture and is of the same quality as that used in the T'ang dynasty. It was prepared for use by the copyist himself who sized it and then beat it with a flat stick until the texture was softened and thickened, thus making a flat surface for the brush. The style of this painting, according to all of the critics who have seen it, agrees with what one would expect from an artist of the early period to which Ku K'ai-chih belongs. The design and brushwork of this painting are the earliest types now in existence as far as is known either to Chinese or foreign scholarship. Although it does not seem to me that this scroll can be considered an original, or that it can be dated earlier than the middle of the T'ang dynasty, its beauty and charm are in no way dependent upon its age. From the recorded descriptions of the paintings of Ku K'ai-chih there can be no doubt that this scroll is a correct interpretation of his style.

The comment of the Emperor Ch'ien Lung on this scroll is full of interest: "Ku K'ai-chih of the Chin dynasty excelled in painting. He himself used the phrase 'the interpretation of feeling really lies in this,' from which we know that one who has not entered into the mysteries could not attain unto such ability. This scroll 'The Admonitions of an Imperial Preceptress' has been handed down for more than ten centuries, yet its feeling and coloring are still fresh and its expression is full of life. It could not have been equaled by the strenuous efforts of a later artist. In his colophon on the picture 'The Hsiao and Hsiang' by Li Po-shih, Tung Hsiang-kuan says that Secretary Ku had in his collection four famous scrolls of which this is the very best. I quite believe this. This picture was previously in the Imperial Collection, and later there were obtained these pictures by Li, viz., 'A River in Shu,' 'The Nine Songs' and 'The Hsiao and Hsiang.' Thus the number

tallies with that of the famous scrolls mentioned by Tung in his colophon. As they were transferred into the Ching-i Pavilion of the Chien-fu Palace, I wrote an honorary inscription referring to these scrolls as 'The Four Beautiful Objects,' thus recording my profound delight in them. The fortunate collection of treasures of remote antiquity in one place is beyond the bounds of expectation. I have recorded these few superficial words so that also I might felicitate these scrolls as 'The United Swords.' An imperial inscription written in the Ching-i Pavilion five days before the summer solstice of the Ping-yin year of Ch'ien Lung."

The genealogy of "The Admonitions" scroll is traced as follows:

Hsüan Ho Collection	Eleventh century
Hsiang Yüan-pien.....	Fifteenth century
An I-chou.....	Seventeenth century
Liang Tsang-yen.....	Eighteenth century
Imperial Collection of Ch'ien Lung....	Eighteenth century
British Museum.....	Nineteenth century

In the catalogue of paintings belonging to the Manchu dynasty and now stored in the former palace, which was prepared in 1922, mention is made of a scroll by Ku K'ai-chih called by the same title as that which is now in the British Museum. It is quite possible that these two scrolls were made about the same time in the T'ang dynasty, and that, having passed through the hands of various collectors, they were brought together by the Emperor Ch'ien Lung. This opinion is corroborated by the records of collections in the various dynasties. In the collection of Mi Fei (A.D. 1051-1107) there was a copy of "The Admonitions," by Ku K'ai-chih. In the collection of Chao Meng-fu (A.D. 1254-1322) a scroll with this title was also found. The famous statesman of the Ming dynasty, Yen Sung, who died A.D. 1568, had a scroll which bore the name of "The Admonitions," but was not assigned to Ku K'ai-chih. It is stated that this scroll was painted by "someone in the Chin dynasty" (*Chin Jen*). As it was the custom of Mi Fei, Chao Meng-fu, and Yen Sung to affix their seals to paintings owned by them, the omission of the seals of these three collectors from the British Museum scroll

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was mysterious to me until the recently published catalogue announced that there is another scroll of this same name in the Imperial Collection. The scroll which was in the possession of these three great collectors is probably not the one which is now in the British Museum; otherwise it would bear some of their seals.

This opinion is also supported by certain differences which exist between the British Museum scroll and the one described by An I-chou in *Mo Yüan Hui Kuan*, and also described in *Ta Kuan Lu*. As to the order of the scenes depicted, both books agree that the first scene is that of the Empress Fêng, the second that of the hill, and the third that of Pan Chieh-yu. The order followed in the scroll of the British Museum is: first, the Empress Fêng; second, Pan Chieh-yu; and third, the hill. In the hill scene there is another discrepancy, for neither of these two books records that there is a phoenix in the sun or a reflection in the moon, and in addition to this the *Ta Kuan Lu* mentions in this scene twelve stars typified by animals which are not found in the Museum scroll. A third difference is found in the statement of both books that "The Admonitions" are written in eleven lines, whereas in the Museum scroll these occupy fourteen lines, not counting the short ones. Another difference is found in the statement of the *Ta Kuan Lu* that in all there are twenty-seven persons in the scroll including servants; in the Museum scroll there are forty persons. The *Ta Kuan Lu* also says that "The Admonitions" were written in the Hsiao K'ai characters, whereas in the Museum scroll they are written in Ta K'ai style. There is also a difference in the text of two characters: one in the writing of the second character of Pan Chieh, and the other where the Museum scroll gives Tao Chia; the *Ta Kuan Lu* follows Chang Hua's text in making these two characters Tao Wang. The differences between the records of these two authorities and the Museum scroll add further testimony to the fact which has been recently established by the new catalogue of the Imperial Collection. It is now certain that whereas one scroll with the title "The Admonitions" by Ku K'ai-chih is known to have been carried to England by an imperial commissioner and found its way into the British Museum, there remains in the Imperial Collection another copy of a painting by Ku K'ai-chih with the same title.

This knowledge has only been made possible by the recent preparation of this catalogue.

This lengthy discussion of a single scroll would seem disproportionate in a book of this character unless it were explained that I have used it as an illustration of the manner in which the authenticity of Chinese paintings can be traced. One must study the style of artists and be familiar with the carefully prepared records of great collections; the seals of owners and observers must be verified, comments from books brought together, and the annotations on the painting itself carefully studied. By following this method accurate conclusions can be reached concerning the most important paintings. There is no need of wandering through a mysterious maze in the attempt to find out the truth about pictures which come under one's observation. They can be attested in the way which I have followed in discussing "The Admonitions" scroll of Ku K'ai-chih.

Another well-known scroll attributed to Ku K'ai-chih is in the Freer Gallery, Washington. The name given to this scroll by its former owner is *Lo-shên T'u*. Lo-shên, goddess of the Lo, is the name of Fu Fei, the daughter of a legendary emperor, Fu Hsi. She threw herself into the Lo River and became a goddess. This episode is the subject of a well-known poem by Ts'ao Chih of the Wei dynasty. The late Mr. Wang Han-fu, who was an excellent critic, considered that this scroll was not meant to describe the Lo-shên goddess and that it should be correctly described as "The River Excursion of Mu Wang" (*Mu Wang Yu Ho T'u*). There is much to support this opinion, for the subject of the Lo-shên goddess has been treated by other artists in a very different manner from that of the Freer Gallery scroll. This scroll was formerly in the collection of Tuan Fang, and after his death was sold to Mr. Charles L. Freer, to whom Tuan Fang had once shown it when Mr. Freer visited him in the vice-regal *yamen* at Nanking. It is difficult to determine when this scroll was produced. The first annotation is one by Tung Ch'i-ch'ang (A.D. 1555-1635). In this annotation Tung Ch'i-ch'ang states that the earlier annotations had been cut off from the scroll and suggests that it may have been for the reason that they contained characters which were prohibited in the Ming dynasty, or that the comments were

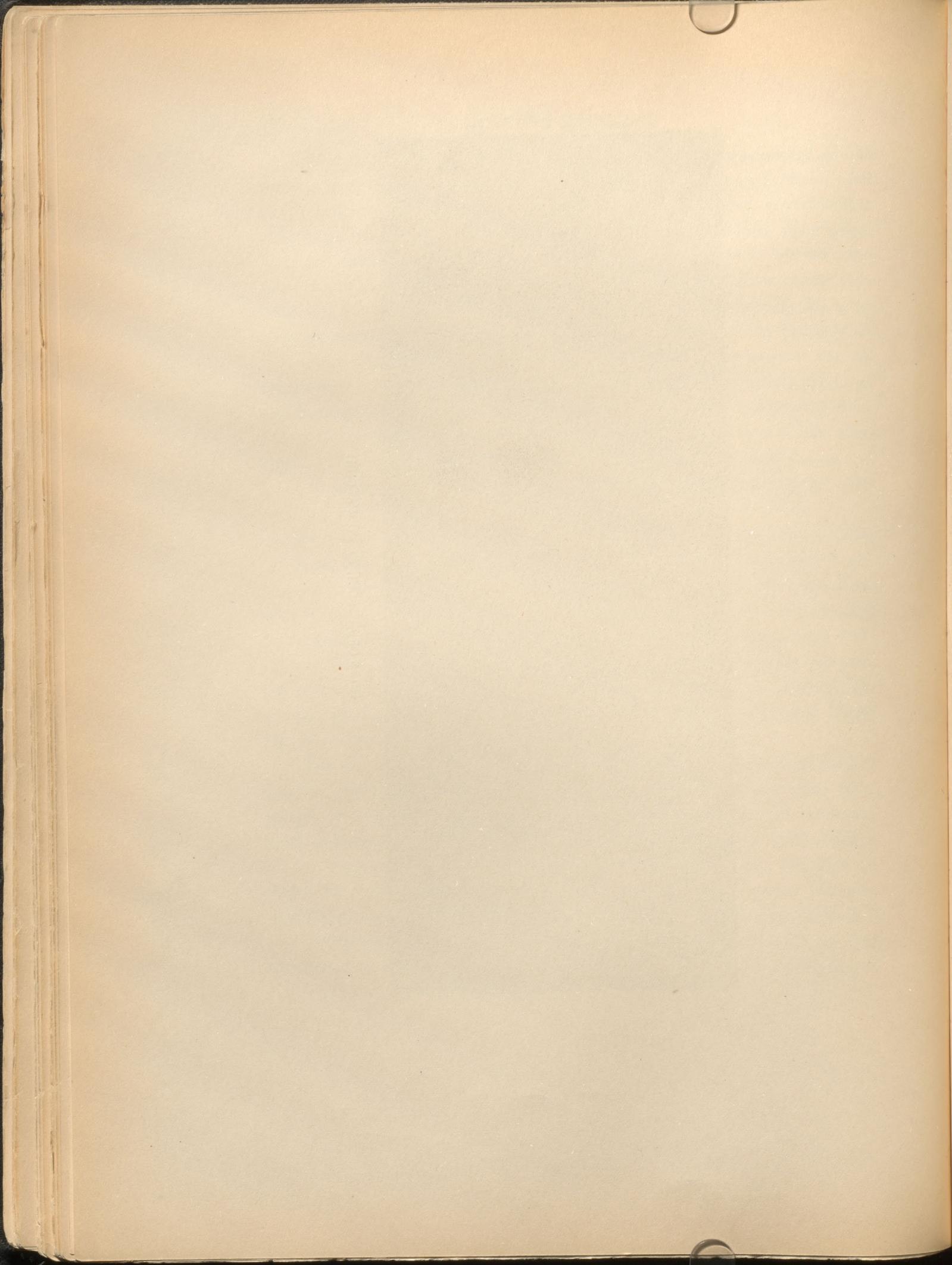
considered improper. He further states that this scroll was presented by the first emperor of the Ming dynasty, Hung Wu, as a gift to an official, and that when he saw it the original label had already been lost. He adds that this scroll and also "The Admonitions" owned by Hsiang Yüan-pien, were genuine specimens of the work of Ku K'ai-chih. A well-known commentator in the latter part of the nineteenth century, Yang Shou-ching, says that "in the *Hua Tuan* of Chang Huai-kuan thirty paintings by Ku K'ai-chih are mentioned. In the *Chéng Kuan Kung Ssü Hua Shih* of P'ei Hsiao-yüan it is stated that the Emperor Ming Ti of the Chin dynasty painted a scroll which bore the name of this picture. It is probable therefore that the label attributing this scroll to Ku K'ai-chih was written by the former owner, Liang Chiao-ling, and that he was mistaken in attributing it to Ku K'ai-chih." This scroll was highly prized by Tuan Fang, who added a second label to which he attached the comment: "This is a rare treasure" (*Hsi Shih chih pao*).

The fourth scroll attributed to Ku K'ai-chih is found in the Metropolitan Museum, New York. It is a landscape painting depicting the hills of Kuei-chi which are located in the eastern part of Chekiang province. Ku K'ai-chih is known to have visited this district, and in the *Su Hua P'ing*, written in the sixth century A.D., two pictures by Ku K'ai-chih are mentioned bearing the title "The Customs of Yüeh." Yüeh is the early name for the eastern part of Chekiang Province in which the Kuei-chi Hills are located. On the face of the painting is an authentic inscription by the Emperor Hsüan Ho, as follows:

"The art of Ku K'ai-chih is well known by his paintings of human figures. There are many paintings of Ku K'ai-chih such as the *Lo-shén*, 'Nine Songs,' and figures of different fairies and Buddhists, but this landscape scroll is considered his best. As he has wandered among the hills of Kuei-chi for many years he is familiar with every peak and valley. This has enabled him to paint the landscape in a supernatural way. Therefore, I believe strongly in the sayings of Mr. Ch'en Yao-tsui that the art of Ku K'ai-chih runs independently and boldly along, and it is quite impossible to find another artist to compete with him. Ku K'ai-chih once sent a painting to



HILLS OF KUEI-CHI, BY KU K'AI-CHIH



Huan Nan-chün in a sealed parcel. It was stolen by the bearer, but the seal of the parcel was untouched. Then Ku said to himself that the sacred painting had flown away like a cicada's casting off of its exuviae. I quite recognize the appropriateness of his expressions."

The earliest seal on this painting is that of Chêng Kuan, which was the title of the reign of the Emperor T'ai Tsung (A.D. 627-50) of the T'ang dynasty. There are several seals of the Emperor Hsüan Ho, seals of Chia Ssü-tao of the Sung dynasty, one seal of Hsiang Yüan-pien, and several seals of Wang Shih-chêng. This scroll came into the possession of the Ch'en family of Wei-hsien, Shantung. While Tuan Fang was viceroy at Nanking it was offered to him for 10,000 Taels. A friend of the viceroy urged him not to buy it, and said that he himself would secure it and then present it to the viceroy. Before the negotiations were finished Tuan Fang was transferred to Tientsin, and this scroll was not presented to him. Later it was offered for sale in Peking through the Ju Ku shop, and was purchased by me for the Metropolitan Museum for \$4,000 (Mex.; about \$2,000 U.S.). In the opinion of all the connoisseurs in Peking whom I invited to examine this scroll before purchasing it, and who had seen the *Lo-shén* scroll as well as the reproduction of "The Admonitions," this landscape scroll of Ku K'ai-chih was pronounced to be the best of the three. It has the thick black-ink dots representing trees on the landscape, and this is a well-known characteristic of early T'ang paintings. In my opinion this scroll is one of those reproductions of early paintings made by the Emperor T'ai Tsung at the beginning of the T'ang dynasty. This opinion is corroborated by comparison with a painting in "Copies of Ancient Paintings" of Hsüan Ho in which the treatment of the trees, hills, and buildings is the same as that of the "Hills of Kuei-chi" scroll.

With Ku K'ai-chih are associated two other early artists, Lu T'an-wei of the Liu Sung dynasty and Chang Sêng-yu of the Liang dynasty. Fortunately, two early reproductions of the work of these masters have been preserved. "The Lion and Barbarians" (*Ssü Tzü Chén Hsing*) is a large painting on silk, four feet five inches in height, and six feet four and one-half inches in width. In the Ming dynasty this painting belonged to the famous

collection of Sung Lo. In recent years it was in the collection of the late Viceroy Tuan Fang where I first saw it. During the Boxer Rebellion of 1900 the painting disappeared but was recovered from the home of a servant who had not, however, been able to preserve the inscription on the border written by Wang Yüan-t'ing. It is now in the collection of Mr. Charles L. Deering, of Chicago. The circumstances under which this painting was produced have been narrated by Su Shih, the poet (A.D. 1036-1101), in his comments on the Chiao-hsi Kai-kung Hall. From these comments we learn that there was a painting by Lu T'an-wei, who lived in the Liu Sung dynasty of the fifth century in the Kan Lu Temple at Jun-chow. The modern name of this temple is Ch'ao An Ssü, and it stands on the Pei Ku Hills in Tan-tu Hsien near Chin-kiang. This painting was preserved carefully in the midst of the many devastating wars which laid waste the countryside. The Emperor Hsi Ning (A.D. 1068-78) of the Northern Sung dynasty heard of this noted painting and commanded a member of the Imperial Academy of Painting to go to the temple and make a copy of it. This was in A.D. 1076. When it was completed and brought to the palace, the emperor had it hung in his banqueting hall and wrote the following eulogy in its honor:

"Haughty are the eyes, prominent is the nose, with ruffled mane and swollen tongue, his teeth slightly protrude. The feet are dancing, the ears are pricked up, he looks to the right and watches to the left. He is pleased with the appearance of his tail. Though fierce yet he is gentle. Such playfulness hung in the Main Hall has the effect of adding a guest to the festive board. Alas! a hundred wandering souls drop into oblivion while the early Master Lu remains wonderful."

The style of Chang Sêng-yu has been preserved in a scroll called "Brushing the Elephant" (*Sao Hsiang Tu*), or "Washing the Elephant" (*Hsi Hsiang Tu*). This is a scroll on early paper with a length of twenty-seven inches and a height of fourteen and one-half inches. It probably belongs to the T'ang dynasty, though it has long been assigned to Chang Sêng-yu of the Liang dynasty. It was owned in the Yüan dynasty by the artist Ch'ien Hsüan, as is attested by his seal on the scroll and confirmed by the statement of Wu Ch'êng (A.D. 1247-1321), who says in his *Yün Hsi*

張璪畫松石山水當代擅優氣
傲煙霞勢凌風雨飛舞之勢應
手間出吾作倒枝頤有鱗皴生
動之意



A SIESTA, STYLE OF CHANG SÊNG-YU

張僧繇點曳研拂依衛夫
人華陣尚一點一畫別是
一巧鉤戰利劍森然又
知書畫用華同矣

Collection that Ch'ien Hsüan had in his possession a picture made by Chang Sêng-yu. Wu Ch'êng's description agrees in every detail with this scroll, and there can be no doubt that this is the identical picture referred to by him. It is known that Ch'ien Hsüan himself made a copy of this scroll, and this copy is now in the Freer Gallery. I have also seen several other copies. There has been much difference of opinion among Chinese critics as to whether or not this painting should be ascribed to such an early period as Liang, but there can be no hesitation in referring it at least to the T'ang or early Sung period. The subject of the scroll is the Buddhistic ceremony of brushing or washing the white elephant brought to China from India. The foreshortening of the elephant, the dignity and strength of the figures, the grace of the flowing garments, the richness of the red coloring, combine to produce a thrilling effect.

Among the paintings shown by the Manchu household during the exhibition in aid of the Shansi famine relief fund, May 14-16, 1923, was one attributed to the co-operation of two artists of the Sui dynasty, Chan Tzü-ch'ien and Tung Po-jên. It represents three mounted men standing in front of a gate half opened by a servant. Inside a thatched fence is a small pavilion in which a man is seated. The seated figure is that of Chu-ko Liang, who led a life of retirement in a reed hut which was thrice visited by Liu Pei before he was granted an interview. This picture is on paper and is richly colored. It was probably produced during the Sung or Yüan dynasty.

The paintings discussed in this chapter are all T'ang or Sung reproductions, and were made at a date subsequent to some of those which remain to be described in following chapters; but they are supposedly accurate interpretations of the style of ancient artists. It is possible that as excavations proceed, specimens of mural paintings will be discovered. The *Shih Ku T'ang* gives a list of forty-seven temples during the period extending from the beginning of the Chin dynasty (A.D. 265) to the close of the Sui (A.D. 618), in which there were many mural paintings by noted artists. In Nanking was the Wa Kuan Temple with mural paintings by Ku K'ai-chih and Chang Sêng-yu; in Ching-chou, Hupeh province, were the Lung K'uan Temple with paintings by Shih Tao-shih, the Hui Chi Temple with paint-

ings by Chang Sêng-yu, and the Chung Shêng Temple with paintings by Tung Po-jên; and in Hsi-an, Shensi Province, there were several temples with noted mural paintings. During the T'ang dynasty such paintings were especially popular in Ch'êng-tu, capital of Ssü-ch'u'an Province. It is said that all of the ninety-six halls of the Shêng Tzü Temple in Ch'êng-tu had mural paintings of gods and saints. Such paintings were placed on surfaces which had been carefully prepared so that it is entirely probable that remains of them will be found.

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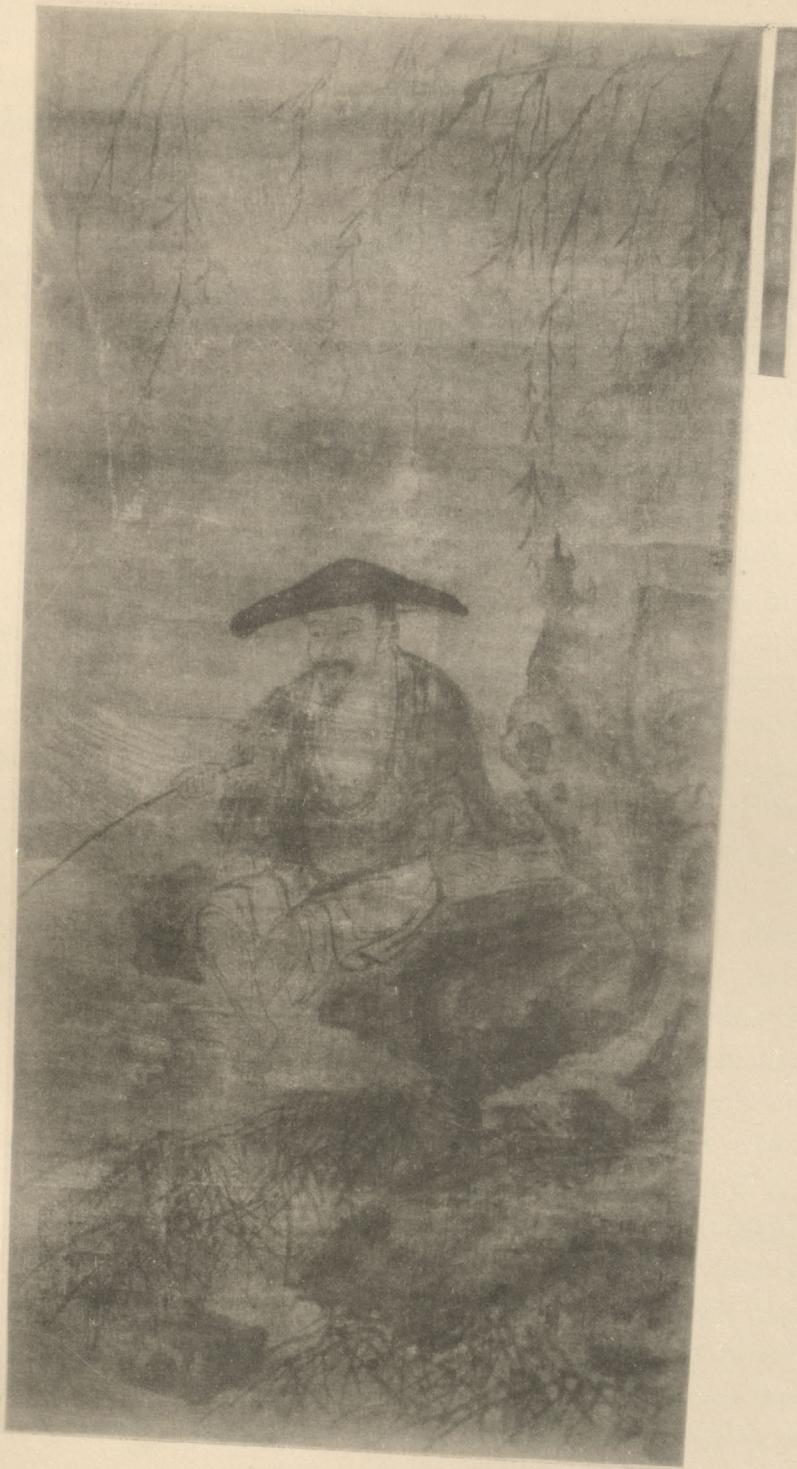
PAINTERS OF THE T'ANG DYNASTY

AFTER a long period of dissension and division lasting for more than three hundred years, the T'ang dynasty was founded by the brilliant Li Shih-min. His father, Li Yüan, was nominally the first emperor of that dynasty, but his rebellion against the Sui dynasty and his short reign of eight years were in the control of his second son, Li Shih-min, who, in reality, was the founder of the dynasty. During his father's reign he held the nominal position of Prince of Ch'in, and is still frequently referred to by this title. It was he who crushed the military activities of Li Mi, Tou Chien-tê, and others, and disposed of his two brothers who plotted against him. In 626 his father abdicated in his favor, and from that time the new emperor, who is known in history as T'ai Tsung, began a reign more illustrious than almost any other in Chinese history. He stamped out internal rebellions, extended the borders of the empire, encouraged literature and art, lightened the taxes of the people, and did all in his power to promote public welfare. The influence of the founder of the dynasty extended throughout its history of three hundred years. During this period poets and authors, writers and artists, flourished in the empire. The earlier culture of China was preserved, and large contributions were made toward its further development.

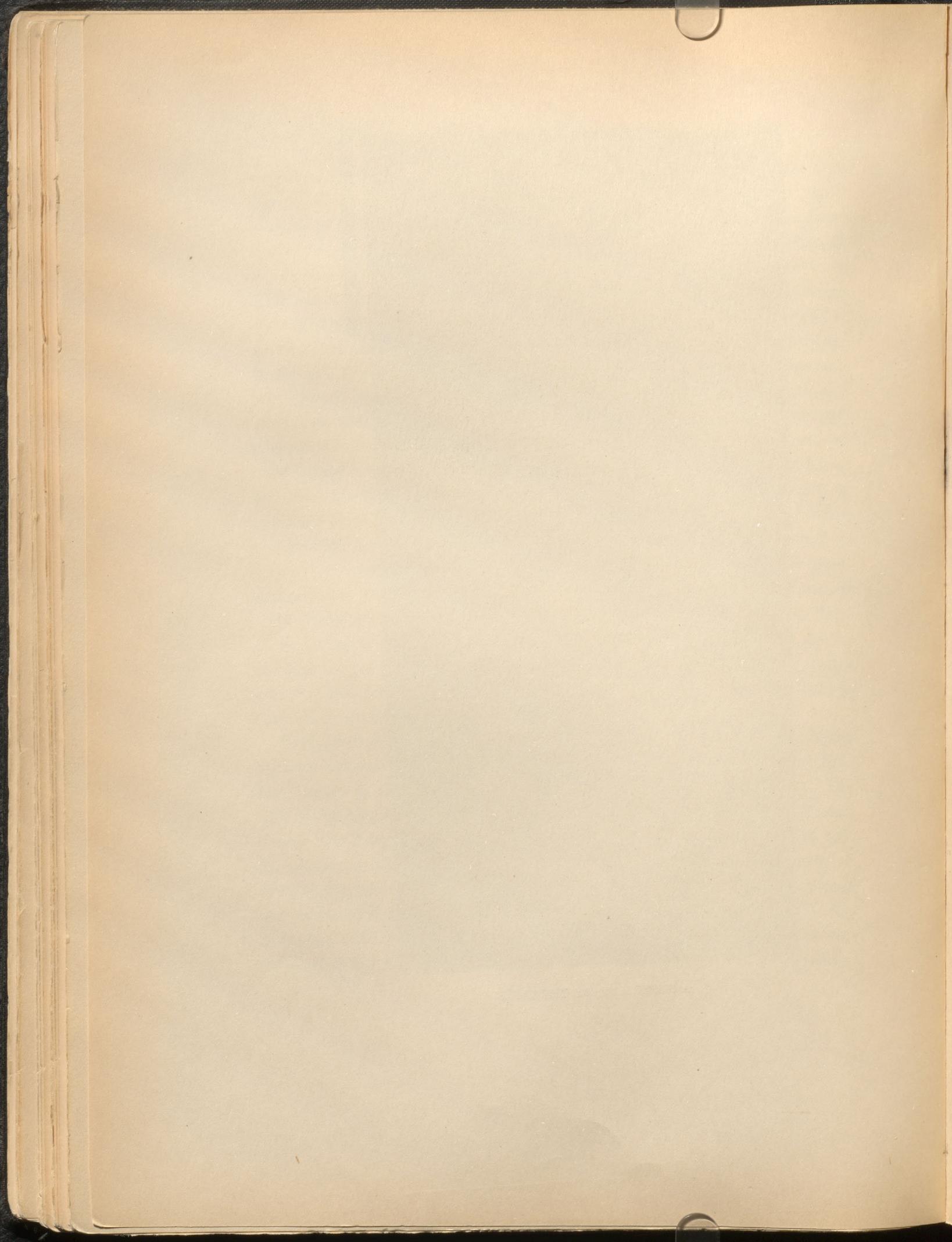
One of the first artists of this dynasty was Wei-ch'ih I-sêng, a native of Khotan. He was recommended to the emperor by his prince and remained in the court for many years. His painting of "The Heavenly King" (*T'ien Wang Hsiang*) is one of the earliest paintings preserved to our times. According to the *Ch'ing-ho Shu Hua Fang*, there were two copies of this picture, one in black and white and the other colored. The records state that the highly colored picture was done on silk, but make no mention of the material on which the black-and-white painting was made. Probably this lat-

ter one was done on paper. The black-and-white copy is in the Palace Collection, and the colored one is in the Freer Gallery at Washington. Both were originally in the form of hanging pictures, but during the Northern Sung dynasty were changed into scrolls. The colored copy on silk belonged to the collection of Hsiang Yüan-pien of the Ming dynasty, and lacked the early annotations and seals found on the black-and-white copy. These were added to the colored painting by Chang Ch'ou, who suggests that the former annotations and seals had been detached from the scroll during remounting. As far as I have been able to ascertain there has been no discussion among art critics as to which of these two paintings, the colored or the black and white one, is earlier. It is quite possible that they were produced at the same time; if not, they were doubtless in the same style of execution, otherwise they would not have been placed together by the art critics of the Ming and Manchu dynasties. The painting which is in the Freer Collection is an excellent piece of composition, coloring, and design. The Heavenly King is seated in the center surrounded by male and female attendants as well as by strange animals and birds. Among the animals the lion is the most conspicuous, so that by some critics this painting is called by the name of "The Heavenly King and the Lions" (*T'ien Wang Ssü-tzü Hsiang*). Wei-ch'ih I-sêng is the first Chinese painter to whom is assigned the use of chiaroscuro (*tieh wa*). It is said that looked at from a distance parts of his painting stood out as if they were in relief, and only by a close examination could it be ascertained that the painting had a flat surface.

Several specimens of the work of Yen Li-pên were extant in the Ming dynasty and are now in the collection at the Manchu Palace. One of these was shown at the exhibition in the Central Park held in May, 1923. The title of this picture is "Hsiao I Stealing the Lan T'ing Manuscript" (*Hsiao I Chuan Lan T'ing T'u*). It cannot be considered an original, for the silk on which the painting is made is distinctly of the Ming dynasty type as are also the ink and colors used. The historical event told in this picture is that of Hsiao I, a petty official during the reign of the Emperor T'ai Tsung. This man tried in every conceivable way to obtain possession for the emperor of the celebrated Lan T'ing manuscript written by Wang Hsi-chih.



A FISHERMAN, BY YEN LI-PÊN



The manuscript was in the possession of a grandson of Wang Hsi-chih who had become a Buddhist priest. After many unsuccessful attempts Hsiao I went one day to the temple where Wang Hsi-chih's grandson was a priest and took with him a poor copy of this manuscript. He showed it to the priest who proceeded to comment upon the errors of writing which he saw in the manuscript brought by Hsiao I. Upon being asked how he could detect these errors the priest disclosed the fact that he had the original manuscript in his possession. Hsiao I then proposed to compare the copy which he brought with the original. The priest consented and brought the manuscript from its hiding place back of an image where he had concealed it. As the room was dark Hsiao I suggested taking the two manuscripts out into the courtyard where there was better light, he himself holding the original and the priest the copy. While the priest was off his guard, Hsiao I bolted with the original.

A good specimen of the work of Yen Li-pêñ is "The Tribute Bearers" (*Chih Kung T'u*), which has been frequently displayed in the Wêñ Hua Tien exhibition rooms of the palace. According to the *Hsüan Ho Hua P'u*, there were four copies of this painting in the Hsüan Ho Collection. This picture is in the form of a scroll about six feet in length and eighteen inches in height. It represents the bearers of tribute coming to the palace with various types of offerings which are to be presented to the emperor. The figures are about seven inches in height. There are two large lions and several small ones. There is a peculiar animal with the head of a tiger and the body of a bear. There are also horses, mules, and camels. Some of the figures are mounted, some are standing in groups. Across the face of the picture are six large characters written by the Emperor Hui Tsung, stating that this is the picture "Tribute Bearers," by Yen Li-pêñ (*Yen Li-pêñ Chih Kung T'u*). There are several seals of this emperor such as the double-dragon rectangular seal, Hsüan Ho, Ta Kuan, Chêng Ho, and Hsüan Ho Tien Yin. There is also the gourd-shaped seal, Yüeh-sêng, of Chia Ssü-tao. This is a noble picture. It is meant to represent the great influence of the T'ang dynasty in extending the borders of the empire so as to include all of the outlying barbarian tribes. Several other paintings by this same artist are included in early

catalogues, and all of them have subjects relating to the far-flung conquests of the great founder of the T'ang dynasty.

Wu Tao-yüan, who is generally known as Wu Tao-tzŭ, is the outstanding figure among the artists of the T'ang dynasty. This position was due in some measure to his fondness for painting religious subjects. Such pictures were very popular during that dynasty which witnessed the rise of Taoism as an organized religion and also a wide dissemination of Buddhist influence. It was an age in which religious ideas held sway, and Wu Tao-tzŭ became their interpreter and transmitter. His black-and-white painting on paper in the form of a scroll, "The Presentation of Buddha" (*T'ien Wang Sung Tzŭ*), or, as it is sometimes called, "The Birth of Buddha" (*Shih Chia Chiang Séng*), is in the collection of Mr. Ching Hsien, Peking. In the center of this scroll is seated Siva, Tzŭ Tsai, behind whom stand his attendants. At his left and right are guardians. The guardian at the left is seated on a dragon which is drawn in vigorous lines. Contrary to the usual conventions, the tail of the dragon is not flattened out or curled, but stands almost perpendicular. One figure is mounted on its neck, and another is running at the side, holding in both hands a rope attached to a bit in its mouth. This dragon with its two figures exhibits surpassing boldness in design and strength in execution, these being the two characteristics of the paintings of that great artist. There are two guardians at the right, both of them semi-human figures holding snakes in their hands. The last part of the scroll represents the father of Buddha, Suddhodana, and his mother, Mâyâ, walking away with their newly born infant carried in the arms of his father. This is not in accordance with the usual tradition which states that the mother of Buddha lost her life at the birth of her son, but Wu Tao-tzŭ never allowed himself to be trammelled by tradition. He painted not only with freedom of brush, but also of ideas. He only followed tradition when it suited his purpose, and never allowed himself to become a slave to it. This scroll is one of the most remarkable specimens of early Chinese painting that has been preserved to our times. Li Kung-lin, the great artist of the Sung dynasty, wrote an annotation at the end of the painting and attached to it his seal, Lung-mien Chü-shih. In this annotation Li quotes the Jui



THE PRESENTATION OF BUDDHA, BY WU TAO-TZU

Ying Buddhist classic concerning the carrying of Buddha to the temple of Siva by his father, on which occasion all of the lesser gods paid their homage to the child who was to become the great Buddha, "Heaven in the Midst of Heaven" (*T'ien Chung T'ien*). This annotation is the best-known specimen of the handwriting of the great artist Li Kung-lin. During the Ming dynasty this scroll passed into the hands of Han Ts'un-liang when it was seen by Chang Ch'ou, author of *Ch'ing-ho Shu Hua Fang*. It is mentioned in *Shih Ku T'ang* and by many other standard authorities.

Another great painting by this artist is that of the Goddess of Mercy (*Kuan Yin*). A copy of it is in the possession of Mr. Augustus Vincent Tack, the distinguished mural painter. The thick paper on which this picture was painted was that used both in the T'ang and Sung dynasties. The paper has been treated with flour (*blanc de Chine*) and glue before the painting was done. The signature is "T'ang Wu Tao-tzü Pi," i.e., the brush of Wu Tao-tzü of the T'ang dynasty. Such a use of the name of the dynasty under which he lived was not unusual in the T'ang dynasty and does not furnish any reason for doubting the genuineness of the signature. However, the use of the word "brush" instead of "painted by" (*hua* or *hui*), or "produced by" (*chih*), together with the name of the dynasty, would suggest that the inscription "T'ang Wu Tao-tzü Pi" was intended to convey the idea that the painting is in the style of Wu. We know from the *Hsüan Ho Hua P'u* that Wu painted two pictures of Kuan Yin, and that Chu Yu, a painter at the close of the T'ang dynasty, also painted three pictures of Kuan Yin. Chu Yu was a disciple of Wu and followed his methods closely; it was said at the time that his work could not be distinguished from Wu's. My conclusion is that this painting is the work of Chu Yu, who added the ascription to Wu Tao-tzü; though it must be said that there is no reason, in the quality of the paper, in the colors used, in the bold outlines of the drawing, or in the inscription, why the painting should not be the work of Wu Tao-tzü himself. At any rate, it is a magnificent specimen of painting.

Several notable paintings of Wu Tao-tzü have been reproduced on stone. In Chü-fu, the birthplace of Confucius, is a stone on which a painting by Wu Tao-tzü of Confucius is engraved. At the top of the stone are seven

characters signifying that this is a portrait of "The Ancient Master, Confucius, Teaching" (*Hsien Shih K'ung Tzü Hsing Chiao Hsiang*). At the bottom of the left-hand side is the signature "T'ang Wu Tao-tzü Pi," which is the same as that on the painting of Kuan Yin mentioned in the preceding paragraph. Under the signature is a square seal containing the four characters *Wu Tao-tzü Yin*. In this picture Confucius is wearing the long flowing robes and the small cap of an official of the Chow dynasty with a sword suspended at his side. His lips are parted in a broad smile; the left hand is grasping the fingers of the right hand, both of them being held up in front of him. The second stone is in the yamen formerly used by the prefect of Ch'êng-tu, Ssü-ch'u'an. It represents the struggle of a tortoise with a snake, the body of the snake being twirled around that of the tortoise. A third representation on stone is in the Freer Gallery and was formerly exhibited in the Metropolitan Museum, New York. A picture of the Goddess of Mercy in her most gracious mood is incised on a flat surface. The accompanying inscription is beautifully written. This stone was found in the place where, during the Sung dynasty, the famous garden of the Liu family was located at Nanking, a short distance west of the present buildings of the University of Nanking. When it was discovered it was being used for washing purposes by women of the district who pounded their clothes with a stick on its flat surface.

Liu Shang is remembered from his portrait of Kuo Tzü-i now in the St. Louis Museum. This is a full-length portrait in black and white done on paper. It came from the collection of Prince Cho. It is seven feet two inches in height and three feet in width. It represents Kuo Tzü-i, a noted general of the early part of the T'ang dynasty who lived A.D. 697-781. He is said to have been more than seven feet in height. He led a stormy life of warfare against border tribes and was frequently troubled by intrigues against him in court circles. He was a man of sterling integrity and was fond of appearing in such coarse attire as he is seen wearing in this portrait. His feet are swollen from constant travel. From his braided-straw girdle is suspended a wicker food-basket, and on his head he wears the cap of the common people. The posture of the figure and the poise of the head are digni-

fied. His face shows strong determination, coupled with the calmness which comes from long and varied experiences. In the first volume of *Ars Asiatica* there is reproduced and discussed a painting which is very similar in many respects to Liu Shang's portrait of Kuo Tzü-i. The authors of that volume of *Ars Asiatica*, Ed. Chavannes and Petrucci, follow the inscription at the top of the picture and wrongly call it a portrait of Lü Tung-pin, one of the Eight Immortals. A more careful reading of the inscription would have led these distinguished authors to have avoided this mistake, for the inscription has been wrongly attached to this painting and could not have originally belonged to it. This is proved by the inscription which speaks of the painting to which it refers as one done "on silk" (*chüan*), whereas this painting is on paper. Furthermore, the characteristics of Lü Tung-pin are the magic sword (*chan yao chien*), which he carries on his back, and a fly switch of horsehair which he carries in his hand. These characteristics are not found in either of these two paintings. We know from *Hsüan Ho Hua P'u* that Liu Shang painted a portrait of Kuo Tzü-i. On the lower left-hand border are two seals of the artist. One of these seals gives the sobriquet of Liu Shang, which is P'êng Ch'en Lai Hsien. These evidences seem to me sufficient to establish the identity of these two portraits as having been meant to portray Kuo Tzü-i and not Lü Tung-pin; also that the St. Louis Museum picture is the work of Liu Shang. As far as is known this is the only existing specimen of the work of this artist.

Chou Fang painted palace ladies, and an example of his work is found in the Metropolitan Museum, New York. It is a scroll on silk called "Ladies with Fans" (*Shih Nü*). It is sixteen and one-half inches in height and more than ten feet in length. Four ladies with their female attendants and children are seen in the palace garden. The ladies exhibit conspicuously their fans, which in their time had only recently come into use. The coloring of this picture is exquisite. During the Sung dynasty it was ascribed to Chou Fang, and it is probable that at that time his signature in seal characters was added. It bears on its face five seals of the Sung dynasty, two seals of Chia Ssü-tao, and one of Wang Meng, an artist described in the chapter on the Yüan dynasty. The *Shih Ku T'ang* in Volume IX gives

a good description of this painting which, independent of whether or not it is older than the Sung dynasty, is a faithful presentation of the style of Chou Fang.

Two great landscape artists, Li Ssü-hsün and Wang Wei, belong not only to the T'ang dynasty, but to all subsequent times, for they are the reputed founders of the two schools into which landscapists are divided. Li Ssü-hsün founded the Northern School and Wang Wei the Southern. Too much importance cannot be attached to this formal division into two schools which was made by Sung dynasty writers during the period when landscape painting was most flourishing. As far as I have been able to ascertain, the division into these two schools was not made until the Sung dynasty, at which time writers sought some precedent in former days for distinctions which arose among artists of their own time, and chose two great artists of the T'ang dynasty as leaders of the two styles of painting. The name for these two schools is probably taken from the earlier division of Buddhistic teaching into the Northern and Southern schools. During the Chin dynasty (A.D. 1115-1234), the Taoist sects were also divided into Northern and Southern schools. None of these divisions has anything to do with geographical conditions unless in the case of landscape painting the Northern School be allied to the strength and ruggedness which is commonly associated with the North, and graceful beauty with the South. The difference between these two schools of landscape painting is that in the Northern the outstanding features suggest grandeur and strength and in the Southern suggest calmness and repose. The *Pi Chi* says, "The style of Li's School is formal in details, but has no trace of pedantry; that of Wang Wei is studied, unobtrusive, graceful, and charming." The founder of the Northern School, Li Ssü-hsün, was a great-grandson of the founder of the T'ang dynasty, and therefore had access to all the treasures of the palace. Wang Wei of the Southern School was a poetical recluse, of great literary genius; he painted with grace and self-restraint. The great landscapists of the Sung dynasty who are definitely classified by all writers as belonging to the Northern School are Kuo Hsi, Chao Po-chü, Li T'ang, Liu Sung-nien, Ma Yüan, and Hsia Kuei. The adherents of the Southern

School are Tung Yüan, Chü Jan, Wang Ch'i-han, Li Kung-lin, and Chao Ling-jang. The position of Li Ch'êng and Fan K'uan is doubtful, though they are generally claimed as belonging to the Southern School. It is more true to the facts to classify them as eclectics along with Kuan Tung, Ching Hao, Hsü Tao-ning, Lu Hung-i, Kuo Chung-shu, the two Mi, and Ma Ho-chih.

Li Ssü-hsün as an artist is little known except in connection with being the leader of the Northern School. His relationship with the ruling house of the T'ang dynasty probably gave him this premier place in the Northern School in the same way as Lao-tzü was elevated to high position in this dynasty because his cognomen, Li, was also that of the emperor. It was even easier for Li Ssü-hsün to be elevated to high position as an artist than for Lao-tzü to be honored as a philosopher, for he was by birth a member of the imperial family, whereas the only claim of Lao-tzü was that he shared the same surname. The T'ang dynasty family naturally seized upon all persons of distinction who had the surname of Li as objects for special favors, and in the case of Li Ssü-hsün it found a man who combined the qualities of a military leader with those of an artist. Li Ssü-hsün is known among writers on pictorial art as the "Great General" (*Ta Chiang-chün*); his military title was "Senior (Left) Wu-wei General" (*Tso Wu-wei Chiang-chün*). This was an honorary rank signifying that its possessor was in command of the troops guarding the imperial palace and was of the same significance as the title of "Guardian of the Heir Apparent" (*Kung Pao*), given to high officials during the Manchu dynasty. This rank of Wu-wei Chiang-chün had three grades, viz., "Senior General" (*Shang Chiang-chün*), "Great General" (*Ta Chiang-chün*), and "General" (*Chiang-chün*). Li Ssü-hsün held the second grade of this honorary rank.

The only mention of paintings made by Li Ssü-hsün is in two imperial catalogues. The Hsüan Ho Collection gives a list of ten paintings, several of which had duplicates. There is no trace of what became of these ten paintings, and they are not mentioned as belonging to later collectors. No paintings by this artist are recorded subsequently until the Imperial Collection of the Ming dynasty. According to the *K'o Tso Hsin Wen* of Shên

CHINESE PAINTING

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Chou, there was in this collection a scroll by Li Ssü-hsün as well as one by his son, Li Chao-tao. More information concerning this scroll is given in *Ch'ing-ho Shu Hua Fang*. It was entitled "The Gay-colored Lotuses of the Imperial Garden." The first annotation on the scroll was written in 1575 during the reign of the Ming Emperor Wan Li, the second by Wang Ch'ih-têng, and the third by Chang Ch'ou, author of *Ch'ing-ho Shu Hua Fang*. This last annotation gives all the information available as to the subject and merits of this scroll. Chang Ch'ou remarks: "It was to be expected that scions of an imperial family would like to paint palace scenes and pleasure excursions using a gold-dusted background such as that employed by Li Ssü-hsün and his son, Li Chao-tao. He adopted the use of the kind of silk which Wu Tao-tzü was the first to prepare. This was the 'beaten silk' type prepared by beating with a flat spatula silk which had been sprinkled with chalk after having been immersed in a hot glucose solution. This quality of silk made the best surfaces for the brush and ink of the artist. As this method of preparing silk was not used after the Five Dynasties, the quality of the silk is a prime consideration in deciding upon the authenticity of any painting purporting to have been done by Li Ssü-hsün. This scroll, 'The Gay-colored Lotuses,' satisfies this requirement in every respect, and must be considered to be a true representation (*chén chi*) of the style of Li Ssü-hsün." It is now in the Manchu Collection in the Peking Palace. The Freer Collection has a scroll attributed to Li Ssü-hsün and entitled "The Imperial Garden" (*Fang Hu Lang Yüan*). It is in the grand style of this artist, but its type of silk and quality of colors indicate that it belongs to the Ming dynasty. This does not detract from its value as being almost the only early example of the style of Li Ssü-hsün which can now be seen. There is another scroll in the Manchu Collection called "The Jade Mountain" (*Yü Shan*), but competent critics who have seen it have told me that it is a forgery, though it is attested to be in the style of Li Ssü-hsün in an annotation by Wên Chêng-ming.

In his "Copies of Ancient Paintings," Hui Tsung gives no example of the style of Li Ssü-hsün; neither does the splendid album of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, shown in the Peking Museum, in which this famous Ming dynasty

artist gives his "studies" of the styles of early landscapists, contain a reproduction. Nor is there any reproduction among the famous "studies" of Wang Hui or Wu Li. This leads us inevitably to the view that Li Ssü-hsün must be considered to have been only the emeritus founder of the Northern School, and that its real originator was Kuo Hsi. Painting in the style of Wang Wei dominated so completely all subsequent landscapists that it was necessary to posit some great name like that of Li Ssü-hsün as the founder of a style which would protect such an artist as Kuo Hsi in his divergence from the accepted canons of his contemporaries. The fact is that Li Ssü-hsün as a landscape painter was entirely overshadowed by Wang Wei, and it was due chiefly to his imperial connections that he has been given such an eminent position.

Li Chao-tao, the son of the "Great General," has been more fortunate in the transmission of specimens of his work. The most noted of his paintings were "Hills in Springtime" (*Ch'un Shan*) and "Declining Light" (*Lo Chao*). In these paintings were displayed the characteristic scenes from the hills on the northern border of China in which he placed mounted figures. A good specimen of his style is found in the University Museum, Philadelphia. It is a landscape painting on silk, six feet two inches in height and four feet four inches in width. The scene is the journey of the emperor through a mountain pass. The emperor is mounted on a horse before which is carried an official umbrella. His attendants may be seen before and behind him in the winding roads on both sides of the mountain stream. It is painted on two strips of narrow silk which are united by mounting. The silk was treated with fine gold dust before the bright colors were added, and these small sparkling particles add brilliance to the effect. This painting was owned by the famous collector Hsiang Mo-ling of the Ming dynasty, and later became the property of An I-chou, from whose hands it passed into the collection of the Emperor Chien Lung, who afterward bestowed it as an imperial present on the minister of state, Ying Ho. Even though it may be doubted whether or not this painting came from the brush of Li Chao-tao himself, there can be no doubt of its being a faithful presentation of the style of this great

artist, and judging both from the silk and the colors used, it could not have been produced later than the Sung dynasty.

Wang Wei is the dominant personality among the landscapists, not only of the T'ang dynasty, but of all periods. As a youth he must have been of a reflective turn of mind, for it is said that he could compose poetry at nine years of age. His course of life was rapid and eventful. He attained to the highest literary rank and to a responsible position in the government service. The rebel An Lu-shan admired his ability and carried him off into captivity where he tried in vain to compel Wang Wei to use his talents in favor of the rebellion, but Wang would not even curry favor with his captor by writing verses to entertain guests. Through the prolonged efforts of his brother, Wang Chin, he was finally released and brought back to the capital, but his reckless independence of spirit landed him in further trouble with the princes. He preferred his literary and religious friends to those whom he found in court circles. He did not hesitate to condemn the extravagances and excesses of palace life. Public service, with its attendant ceremony and display, was hateful to him, and he longed for the quiet of the mountains where he could live in peace. He had lost his wife when he was only thirty-one and never married again. Chastened, lonely, introspective by habit, and sharpened by a full experience of the busy activities of official life, he retired to the mountainous district of the southern part of Lan-t'ien in Shansi Province on the banks of a small mountain stream which wanders down through the valley. Here he built for himself a home to which he gave the name Wang Ch'u'an.

The first character in the name of his home, *Wang Ch'u'an*, means the "felloe of a wheel," and has no connection except in sound with the first character of the name of its illustrious resident. It is probable that the stream (*ch'u'an*) was given a new descriptive name by Wang Wei so as to connect it in sound with his own, or possibly he was influenced in his selection of this spot by the similarity of the name of the place with his own. Such hidden connections have always been considered desirable by Chinese littérateurs, and Wang Wei was most skilful in the use of words. He was also a great poet, and although during his life in the mountains he wrote

王維雪溪圖

天啓元年歲次辛酉經李白

重得此母至余齋中過是

中王幼度呂郡陳仲醇吳居

杰楊彦冲張母卿姑蘇楊仲

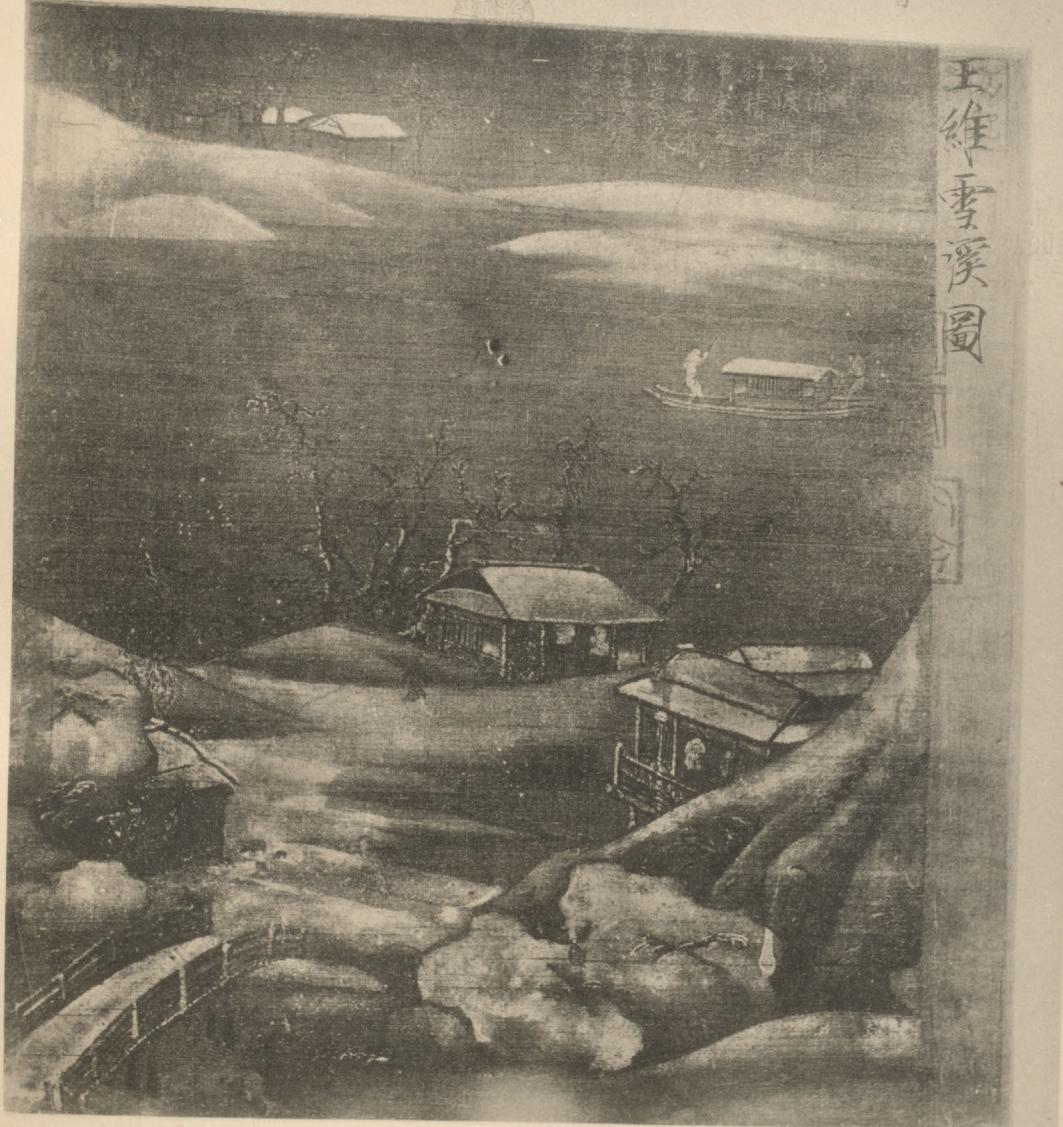
脩同集供觀承日各以為序

觀唯稱決獨余其類而陽

此事不落俗父平又為名虛清

君子極耳

其



SNOW SCENE, BY WANG WEI

識得山居子久傳雪溪摩
詰鈞舟扁壺禪室裏羣
仙僊也日終未參畫禪
予既辨明富春山居為
大廢真蹟無疑近於此摩
詰雪溪圖三物皆董其昌
畫禪室中所藏因感斯
句下郵仲春陽筆

more than a hundred verses, the one best known to later generations is that describing Wang Ch'u'an. This poem would have been immortal even if it had not been supplemented by a famous picture made by the poet-painter. Wang Wei's great fame as a literary genius rests upon his eminence in all three branches of literary attainment—poetry, calligraphy, and painting. To be a great poet, a great penman, and a great painter is a combination of even higher standard than the "three excellences" which Ku K'ai-chih was said to possess. This Wang Ch'u'an home of Wang Wei is famous for two reasons: it was the subject of one of the best poems, and it was the name of one of the most famous paintings, both being the product of the same genius, Wang Wei.

In accordance with prevailing custom, Wang Wei chose a style by which he was known among friends. He selected two characters, Mo-chieh, the reason for the choice being that these two characters added to his given name, Wei, make up the word Wei-mo-chieh, which was the Chinese name of Vimalakirtti, a contemporary of Shakyamuni, who visited China and was highly honored in the Buddhist sainthood. Wang wrote his name Wang Wei Mo-chieh, i.e., Wang, with the given name of Wei and the style of Mo-chieh; but it could also be read as if the four characters were joined together, in which case it would sound as if Vimalakirtti Wang was being spoken of. It is the same kind of literary pleasantry as was shown by the latent connection between the names of the region and its inhabitant.

The poem and the picture both represent Wang Ch'u'an as a place of splendor and magnificence, but this was the product solely of poetical license, reminding one of Alcina's island in Ariosto's poem. Wang Wei could only have had a very humble cottage in this secluded spot. If it had been otherwise he would have attracted the attention of the rapacious myrmidons of the court, and the place would have been confiscated. Neither the poem nor the picture has been misinterpreted in Chinese literature. It is well understood that such a place as is depicted existed only in the realm of fancy. Wang Wei's imagination, helped by the genius of his two intimate friends, P'ei Ti and Mêng Hao-jan, clothed a barren hillside with beautiful rare trees, with spacious courtyards, with a broad stream upon

which boats plied and on whose bank stood a pretty fishing pavilion, with a deer park, with storks and birds—all of the delights of eye and ear were brought together in this one lovely spot by the fancy of a brilliant genius. Life had been hard and severe for him, but his spirit was untamed. It reveled in all of the sensuous delights which it could spiritualize, even though it had spurned them when they were thrust upon it.

Wang Wei was noted also for his snow scenes. One of the best of these is "The Snowy Valley" (*Hsüeh Hsi T'u*). A stream of water flows through a valley on either side of which are snow-covered hills where trees and huts are scattered. Two boatmen are poling a sampan, the mat roof of which is also covered with snow. A critic who saw this picture on a hot summer day remarked that it sent a shiver of cold through him. This painting belongs to the Manchu Collection in the palace. It is mentioned in the Hsüan Ho catalogue, and the inner label of five characters was written by the Emperor Hui Tsung. In the upper right-hand corner is a short poem written in white ink by the Emperor Ch'ien Lung, whose seals, as well as those of the Emperor Hui Tsung, are attached to the painting. Another snow scene, entitled "Falling Snow by the River" (*Chiang Kan Hsüeh Chi*), was formerly in the collection of Tuan Fang and is now owned by Mr. Robert Lehman, New York. It is in the form of a scroll on silk of very fine texture. Formerly it had annotations by P'êng Nien, Fan Yün-lin, Wang Ch'ih-têng, and others, but these were removed by a previous owner in Shansi who mounted them on a separate scroll. This fact is attested by Sun Chi-fêng, prefect of Tsi-nan, who saw the annotations and tried in vain to buy them from their owner. This scroll is one of the best examples of the delicate brushwork, coupled with noble composition and harmonious colors, which was characteristic of this great artist. Another illustration of Wang Wei's painting is given in the *Illustrated Catalogue of Famous Paintings* owned by Liang Chang-chü, translated into English in 1919. The title of this painting is "The Pa Bridge in a Snow Storm." The photograph represents a painting which is unquestionably in the style of Wang Wei, but having had no opportunity to examine the original, I am unable to express any opinion as to its authenticity.



THATCHED COTTAGE, BY LU HUNG-I

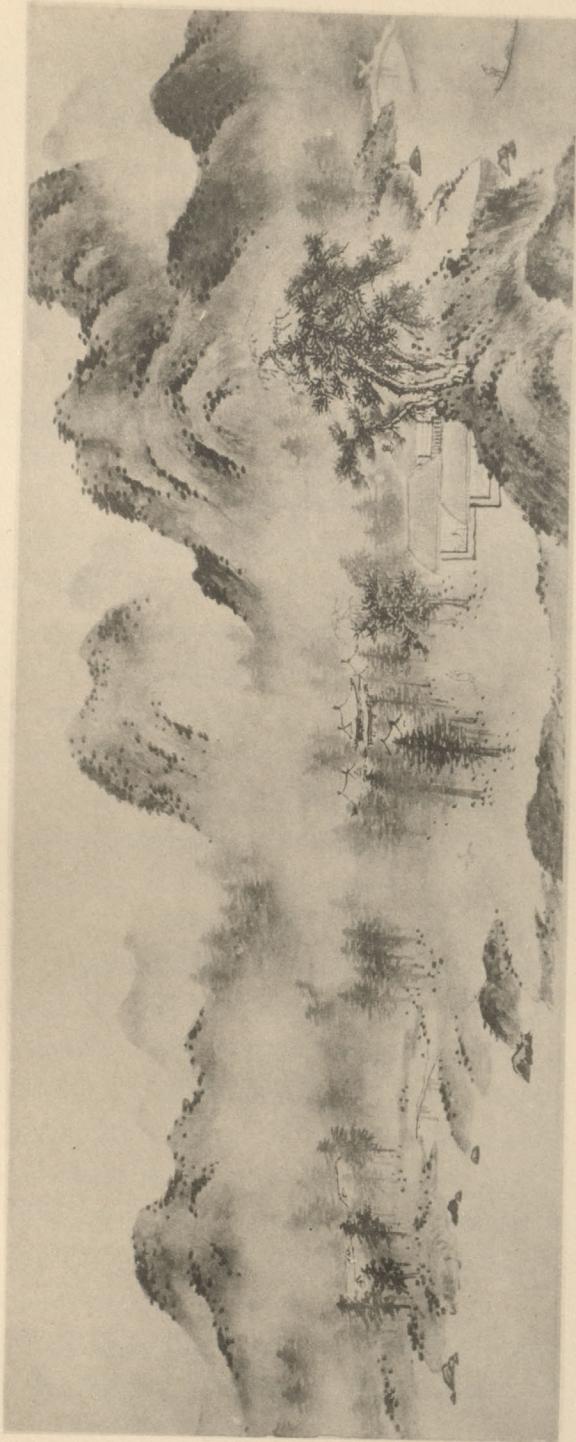
Lu Hung-i worked during the reign of the Emperor Ming Huang, and has had a lasting influence in the history of landscape painting. His chief work is "Ten Views from a Thatched Cottage" (*T'sao T'ang Shih Chih*). This painting is preserved in the Manchu Palace Collection, and I have frequently seen it. It is on paper and done in black and white. The ten landscape views which it gives are full of charm and show an intense love of nature. Lu's style formed the basis of the work of the Yüan dynasty artists, Ni Tsan and Fang Fang-hu. These ten views have been frequently reproduced, the last having been done by the best known of China's modern artists, King Kung-pa.

Another landscapist of this dynasty, Chang Chih-ho, is best known by his pseudonym Yen P'o Tzü. At sixteen years of age he was recommended to the Emperor Su Tsung (A.D. 756-63) on account of his great classical learning. He was so fond of fishing and of all forms of outdoor life that a contemporary statesman, Li Tê-yü (A.D. 787-849), compared him to Yen Kuang, who was the intimate friend of the Emperor Kuang Wu of the Han dynasty. A scroll on thick paper by Chang Chih-ho was in the collection of Ching Hsien. It is called "The Poem of the Fisherman" (*Yü Fu Tz'u*). The delicate coloring in which the mist fades away is one of the most brilliant effects I have ever seen in Chinese landscape painting. It is to be noted that in this picture there are the same dots of thick ink representing scrub trees as are found in the "Hills of Kuei-chi," by Ku K'ai-chih. This scroll is so well preserved that it looks like a modern painting.

In this dynasty there were several noted painters of horses and cows. Among the painters of horses there was Ts'ao Pa, who was summoned to the court of Ming Huang to paint the horses owned by the emperor. There have been no specimens of his work in existence since the Yüan dynasty. His pupil, Han Kan, painted both horses and oxen. *Shih Ku T'ang* mentions two paintings by this artist: "A Horse" and "A Pair of Horses" (*Shuang Ma*). These two paintings are in the collection of the Manchu Palace, but have not been placed on exhibition. There is also in the palace the painting "Ming Huang Testing the Points of a Horse" (*Ming Huang Shih Ma Tu*). This was owned by Li Kung-lin, and was highly

prized by the Emperor Ch'ien Lung, who almost covered it with inscriptions and seals. It has been reproduced on stone. In the Freer Collection there is an album of paintings in the style of Han Kan which was exhibited in Washington, April 15-June 15, 1912. In the British Museum there is also the painting, "A Boy Riding a Goat," which is attributed to Han Kan. I have not found any authorization for this attribution. The picture loses none of the attraction of the strength of its composition from not having been the work of this artist. It belongs properly to the class of religious paintings rather than animal paintings, for the governing idea of the composition is that of a fairy boy disporting himself, and reminds one of the line of poetry, "Five Fairies Riding Five Goats" (*Wu Hsien Ch'i Wu Yang*).

There was also Han Kuang, a native of Ch'ang-an (Hsi-an). Three of his paintings are given in the *Shih Ku T'ang*: "Five Oxen" (*Wu Niu*); "T'ien Tan on the Move" (*T'ien Chia I Chü*), depicting men of the Ch'i State fleeing from Yo I in carts whose projecting axles had been shortened and covered with iron on the advice of Tien Tan; and "Ming Huang as Conductor of Music" (*Ming Huang Yen Yo*). In the Freer Collection is a painting, "T'ang Hui Riding Over the Snow," which is attributed to this artist, but from the quality of the silk and the colors it must be considered a Ming dynasty reproduction. Another good example of painting of horses is "The Ten Horses," or "The Horses Turned Out to Graze on an Autumn Day" (*Ch'iu Chiao San Mu*), by P'ei K'uan. This is a scroll on silk eleven inches in height and twenty-seven inches in length. To this is attached an interpretative painting of the same subject by Chao Meng-fu done in the eleventh month of A.D. 1312, of which there is a second copy in the Manchu Collection, Peking. To the original painting by P'ei K'uan is attached an explanatory annotation by Lo T'ien-ch'ih, and to the painting of Chao Meng-fu is added an annotation by K'o Chiu-ssü. This painting by P'ei K'uan is an excellent specimen of T'ang dynasty work. In the quality of silk, the colors, and the design, this small painting carries on its face its own testimony of authenticity. It is now in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum, New York. "The Six-hoofed Horse" is another example. In this painting there is a noble horse with a groom standing at his side.



THE POEM OF THE FISHERMAN, BY CHANG CHIH-HO

GENEALOGY OF THE

On the borders of this painting are many inscriptions by noted literary men of the Ch'ien Lung period. The most illustrious of these annotators is Chang Ch'un-shan, who attributes it to the T'ang dynasty and describes in detail the historical references to the type of horse which had two hoofs, one of which grew out of the fetlocks on the front legs. He narrates that in the Han dynasty there was a special inspector of horses called T'ao Yu Chien who obtained unusual types of horses from the tribes living on the northwest frontier. One of these varieties called Kun Yü had double hoofs on the front legs. The quality of silk, the ink, and the colors used by the unknown artist justify the ascription of this painting to the T'ang dynasty. It is to be noted that the horses of T'ang dynasty paintings are always represented with short thick legs, heavy bodies, large necks, and small heads. Their eyes are bright and exhibit intelligence. This is in accord with the symbolism of that period in which a fine steed is the symbol of a gentleman (*chün-tzü*), typifying the qualities of dignity, strength, and obedience.

Tai Sung painted oxen, and two examples of his work still remain. One of these is in the Manchu Collection and has been frequently exhibited. The subject of this scroll on paper is "The Fighting Oxen" (*Tou Niu*). There are vigor of drawing and intensity of action in this painting. One feature of it has been humorously commented upon. A herd boy once saw it when the artist had put it out in his yard to dry in the sun. The boy exclaimed that bulls fought with their horns and always kept their tails between their legs when fighting, but that in this painting the bulls were fighting with their tails in the air. I suspect that it was not a herd boy, but some clever critic of later time that made this comment. Another specimen of Tai Sung's work is "The Five Oxen" (*Wu Niu*), a scroll on paper owned by the late Wu Yu-lin, compradore of the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank, Peking, and now in the possession of his nephew. This represents the five oxen in various positions. The drawing is even better than that found in the palace painting of "The Fighting Oxen." In symbolism the bovine species represents agriculture.

Pien Luan was a distinguished painter of birds and flowers, and founded the style used by subsequent painters of this subject. *Hsüan Ho Hua P'u*

gives a list of thirty-one of his paintings of which, as far as I know, only one has survived, and it is by no means certain that this is an original. It was formerly in the collection of Ching Hsien who obtained it from the Viceroy Tuan Fang. It is a large hanging picture done on two strips of silk and measuring six feet in height and three feet in width. There are two peacocks, one on a rock and the other on the ground partially hidden by another rock through a hole of which the beautiful plumage of the peacock's tail can be seen. Above are banana trees with leaves partly opened and partly closed. In the center is a large red flower. The name of the artist, Pien Luan, in a hidden signature (*An-K'uan*) is faintly seen on a rock in the lower center of the picture. The original silk has been much repaired, and on the surface many of the colors have been retouched. This is the famous "Peacock" painting which has been so highly praised by many critics. It is now owned by Mr. John J. Emery, New York.

The foregoing examples of the paintings of T'ang dynasty artists are all that have come under my notice. They exhibit as a whole great freedom of style. Artists followed their own bent in painting and had not yet been brought under the domination of conventionalism or virtuosity. There is only one characteristic in which they agree, and that is, their freedom. Other later artists were also free, but not to the extent of those who flourished during that period. I cannot agree with those who claim that there is a distinct T'ang dynasty style of painting which can always be recognized, but it is certain that no work which shows the marks of conventionality in design or brush strokes can be assigned to that period. It was a time when styles were in process of formation, when they had not already become fixed.

VI

PAINTERS OF THE FIVE DYNASTIES

FROM the reign of the Empress Wu in the middle of the seventh century the T'ang dynasty tottered to its fall. The emperors were in the power of the eunuchs, and discontent was rife on every side. An Lushan, who had been a favorite of the Emperor Hsüan Tsung (A.D. 713-56), headed a rebellion which succeeded in reducing a large part of the northwest territory. Military leaders sprang up in different sections of the country and established kingdoms. The last emperor of the T'ang dynasty was a puppet in the hands of Chu Wên who forced him to abdicate and then put him to death. Chu Wên set himself up as the first emperor of the later Liang dynasty, only to be murdered by his own son. This inaugurated the period A.D. 900-960, which is known as the "Five Dynasties" (*Wu Tai*), for the reason that there were five principal houses among the small kingdoms into which the country was divided. It was a period of great confusion, constant fighting, and bitter jealousies. In spite of the existing handicaps several artists felt enough of the inspiration so carefully fostered during the T'ang dynasty to maintain a high standard of workmanship. There was little encouragement for them in their surroundings, but they were able to rise above the impediments of their time. In the long list of Chinese artists few are more honored than these men of the Five Dynasties, viz., Ching Hao, Hsü Hsi, Chou Wên-chü, Li Shêng, Kuan Hsiu, Tiao Kuang-yin, Huang Ch'üan, Huang Chü-ts'ai, Kuan T'ung, Wang Ch'i-han, Lu K'uang, and Ku Hung-chung.

Ching Hao lived during the last days of the T'ang dynasty and made for himself a name as one of the great landscape artists. He was a native of Ho-lei (modern northwestern part of Honan Province), and is frequently spoken of as Hung Ku-tzü. He is said to have combined great originality with perfect technique, or, as the Chinese artists express this idea, he was

able to use effectively both his brush and colors. The Hsüan Ho Collection contained twenty-one paintings done by him, all of which were landscapes. His greatest surviving work is "A Mountain Village," formerly in the collection of Kêng Hsin-kung and later owned by Prince I. This painting was done on silk and is two feet two inches in height and two feet seven inches in width. It is signed by the artist with four seal characters, *Ho-lei Ching Hao*, i.e., Ching Hao of Ho-lei. In this picture the coloring is delicate, and the brush strokes are refined. The mountain village nestles in the hills so intimately that it forms an essential part of the landscape. A full description of it is given in the *Shih Ku T'ang*, and my own observation fully confirms the high estimate given of it in this authoritative book. Two other paintings by this artist are mentioned in the *Ch'ing-ho Shu Hua Fang*: one of an old pine tree and the other of a mountain top, but as far as I know neither of these remains at the present time. Tung Ch'i-ch'ang places Ching Hao as the first among five great landscapists of whom the other four were Kuan T'ung, Tung Yüan, Chü Jan, and Li Ch'êng. He also comments upon the rarity of works by this great artist.

Kuan T'ung studied with Ching Hao. The leading characteristic of his landscape work is his piling hills upon hills, a style which was later adopted by Kuo Hsi. Specimens of the work of Kuan T'ung are rare. An I-chou had only one painting by this artist in his collection, although in the Hsüan Ho Collection of the Sung dynasty ninety-three pictures are catalogued. The only example of his work that I have seen is a large painting on silk, seven feet two inches in height and three feet two inches in width. This painting belonged to the well-known collector and connoisseur, Fêng Tzü-yün, of Canton, who gave to it the name "A River in Autumn among Mountain Ridges" (*Ch'iu Chiang Tieh Chang*). This might be expressed in the language of Tennyson as "A Ridge of Heaped Hills—an Autumnal River Scene." In the Hsüan Ho Collection there were twenty-two pictures of autumnal hills (*ch'iu shan*) and fourteen other pictures depicting autumn scenes. The governing idea of these pictures is in all probability the same as that of the one we are describing; it is that of a ridge of hills in autumn separated by a valley through which a river flows. This painting is prob-



A LANDSCAPE, STYLE OF CHING HAO

ably the one mentioned in the *Pao Hui Lu* under the name of "The Purple of the Autumn Hills" (*Ch'iu Shan Ling Ts'ui*). In his comments on this painting Yü Ho of the Yüan dynasty says that it had survived the ravages of war for more than three hundred years when it came into the possession of his friend, Sung Tzü-hsü, who discovered that it had been previously in the collection of Lu Ch'i-ch'uan. In the Ming dynasty it was in the collection of Shên Chou, the artist. Another artist, Wêng Chêng-ming, wrote an annotation upon it in which he incorrectly speaks of this painting as a scroll. The next record of it is in the collection of the Emperor Ch'ien Lung. We have no record of how this painting left the palace, but we know that it was customary for this emperor during his later years to present paintings to leading statesmen on the occasion of imperial birthday celebrations. It is more than probable that it was on one of such occasions that this picture found its way into the hands of a high official, and later came into the possession of Fêng Tzü-yün, from whose collection I obtained it, passing it on to Professor Simkovitch of Columbia University. This is one of the noblest specimens of landscape that I have ever seen.

Li Shêng, a native of Ssü-ch'uan Province, was a great landscape artist of this period, but little is known of him further than that he was a scion of the imperial house of T'ang. Mi Fei records that he had a landscape painting by this artist in which the brushwork was of delicate refinement. Above there were peaks upon peaks, below there were a bridge and a sandy beach. In the center of the picture there were a bubbling fountain and more than thirty pine trees. It had a signature in small characters, Li Shêng of Ssü-ch'uan (Shu Jên Li Shêng). The *Ch'ing-bo Shu Hua Fang* records two pictures by this artist—one "A Noted Scholar" (*Kao Hsien*) and the other "Rain on the Hsiao Hsiang Rivers" (*Hsiao Hsiang Yen Yü*). I have seen one scroll by this artist called "A Fall of Snow at P'êng Lai" (*P'êng Lai Fei Hsüeh*). This scroll is one foot three inches in height and seven feet six inches in length. The painting is on silk. At the end of the scroll is a signature in small characters, Li Shêng. The picture begins at the right-hand margin with a wave-like sweep of overhanging rock, which is repeated along the lower margin until it meets the water. The color where it appears

through the snow is delicately subdued. The mountains remain covered with snow after it has melted from the foliage of the trees. The fine sweeping curves, together with the imaginative conception of hill and dale, form a good example of harmony and vitality which are the requisites of the first of the "six canons." The first annotation on this scroll is by Yü Chi of the Yüan dynasty. He compares the refinement of its execution with the work of Wang Wei in his "Snow Scene," and says that Li Shêng and Wang Wei may be considered as brothers in artistic work. Another annotation is by Yüan Chio, also of the Yüan dynasty, who visited the Ta Shêng Tz'u Temple at Ch'êng-tu and saw a writing by Su Shih in which reference is made to this snow scene. This annotator comments upon its wonderful perspective and brilliant composition. He says that Li Shêng's work had often been credited to Li Ssü-hsün, but that Mi Fei with his keen critical sense recognized the difference and correctly assigned this scroll to Li Shêng. Another annotator comments upon the fact that connoisseurs of his time seemed only to know of Li Ssü-hsün and his son, Li Chao-tao, and were ignorant of the existence of Li Shêng whose merits as a painter were almost equal to those of his great predecessors. This scroll has several seals of the Yüan dynasty, including one in the shape of a bronze tripod, which is also found on the painting "Ming Huang Testing the Points of a Horse," by Han Kan.

Wang Ch'i-han lived under the Southern T'ang Kingdom, one of the small principalities of this period. It was founded by Hsü Chih-kao, and its capital city was Nanking. The founder of this short-lived dynasty, which lasted only thirty-nine years, attempted to restore the glory of the T'ang dynasty in art and literature. Under such favoring influences Wang Ch'i-han was able to produce a high quality of work. The scroll "Reading" (*K'an Shu T'u*), by this artist, is one of the best examples now extant of early Chinese painting. It is on silk thirteen inches in height and twenty-seven inches in length. An old man with a long beard and flowing garments sits in a chair, with his left hand upon the arm and picking his ear with his right hand. In front of him on a low four-legged table are a pile of books, writing-brushes, and an open manuscript. To his right is a long table on

which are more books, two bundles of scrolls, and a harp. Behind all is a large screen made of one dominating central panel and two extended leaves. On the three panels of the screen is a beautiful landscape painting in the style of Wang Wei. On the left-hand side of the screen there is another figure approaching the man who is seated. The coloring of the landscape painting is in delicate shades of green, the long robe of the approaching figure is in mauve, the framework of the screen is a light shade of green, and the robe of the seated figure a creamy white. Over the back of the chair is a reddish-colored fabric. These colors, mingled with the light and dark shades of black ink, combine to make a most beautiful composition. At the beginning of the scroll are three large characters, *K'an Shu T'u*, from which it takes its name, "Reading." At the end of the scroll are five large characters, *Wang Ch'i-han Miao Pi*, which mean "The Wonderful Painting of Wang Ch'i-han." All of these eight characters were written by the Emperor Hui Tsung of the Sung dynasty. On the scroll are impressed the Sung dynasty imperial seals—Jui Ssü Tung Ko and Chien Yeh Wén Fang. In addition to these there are two gourd-shaped imperial seals—one under the three characters, the other under the five characters—and on each of these seals are the two characters *Yü Shu*, meaning "Written by the Emperor." In addition to these seals there are many others of its former owner, Kêng Hsin-kung. The annotations are remarkable. The most important is that of Su Shih, which is dated the second day of the sixth moon of the sixth year of Yüan Yu, i.e., A.D. 1091. On one side of the beautiful handwriting of this great calligraphist is an annotation by his younger brother, Su Chê, and on the other one by his brother-in-law, Wang Tsin-ch'ing. The comments of Su Shih refer in a playful mood to the deafness of his brother-in-law, and apply the lesson of the seated figure picking his ear, hinting that deafness could be avoided by this process. There is another annotation by Tung Ch'i-ch'ang in large fluent characters in which he refers to the freedom from conventionalism of the work of Wang Ch'i-han. There are also comments by the fourth and sixth sons of the Emperor Ch'ien Lung and by several other well-known scholars of later times. This scroll has an unbroken history as to ownership, from the time of the Hsüan Ho Collection through

the Yüan, Ming, and Ch'ing dynasties down to the late Viceroy Tuan Fang, from whose hands it passed to those of its present owner. Considering the full details as to historical ownership, Sung dynasty imperial seals, Sung dynasty annotations, annotations by two of the most famous calligraphists, Su Shih and Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, and its present state of preservation, this scroll is probably the most complete and perfect specimen of early Chinese paintings now in any collection. A good photographic copy of it has appeared in the *Kokka*.

Ku Hung-chung also lived under the Southern T'ang dynasty. The best specimen of his work is "A Night Banquet Given by Han Hsi-tsai" (*Han Hsi-tsai Ye Yen T'u*). This painting is illustrated as No. 4 in the *Catalogue of the Collection of Liang Chang-chü* (Eng. ed.). A scroll bearing the same name is in the Imperial Collection, Peking. In the Metropolitan Museum, New York, there is a painting signed by this artist called "Returning from a Banquet," which represents two men on horseback, both showing the effects of excessive drinking. One rider is supported by attendants on either side of his horse. This painting came from the collection of Liu T'ieh-yün to whom it was presented by Shên Po-hsi. Previously it belonged to the famous Canton collector, Fêng Tzü-yün. This picture combines a harmonious blending of colors with boldness of conception. The subject recalls the convivial banquet scenes which were so common during the latter half of the T'ang dynasty. The *Shih Ku T'ang* mentions another painting by Ku Hung-chung in which he depicts the visit of four famous scholars to Shan-yin. Nothing is known of any other work by this artist; his prominence is due to his having preserved for later generations a portrayal of the festive features of T'ang dynasty life.

Lu K'uang was a native of Chia-ho (modern Chia-hsing) in Chekiang Province, who also lived during the Southern T'ang dynasty. A fragment of his painting "Fishing" (*P'u Yü*) is described by An I-chou in *Mo Yüan Hui Kuan*. This painting is now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York. It is two feet six inches in height and thirteen and a half inches in width. An I-chou says that the picture was originally painted on two strips of silk, one of which has disappeared. The fragment that is now preserved



PEONIES, BY TIAO KUANG-YIN

in the Metropolitan Museum is even smaller than that described by An I-chou, but enough remains to show the high quality of the work of this artist. The scene depicted is that of a fisherman assisted by a man pushing a small boat on which the fisherman sits. The rocks and trees which are dimly seen form an excellent composition, and they are painted with the freedom which was characteristic of artists previous to the conventionalism of the Sung dynasty. This picture is also described in the *Yün Yen Kuo Yen Lu*. In the lower left-hand corner is the seal of Chia Ssü-tao of the Sung dynasty, bearing the two characters *Yüeh-sēng*.

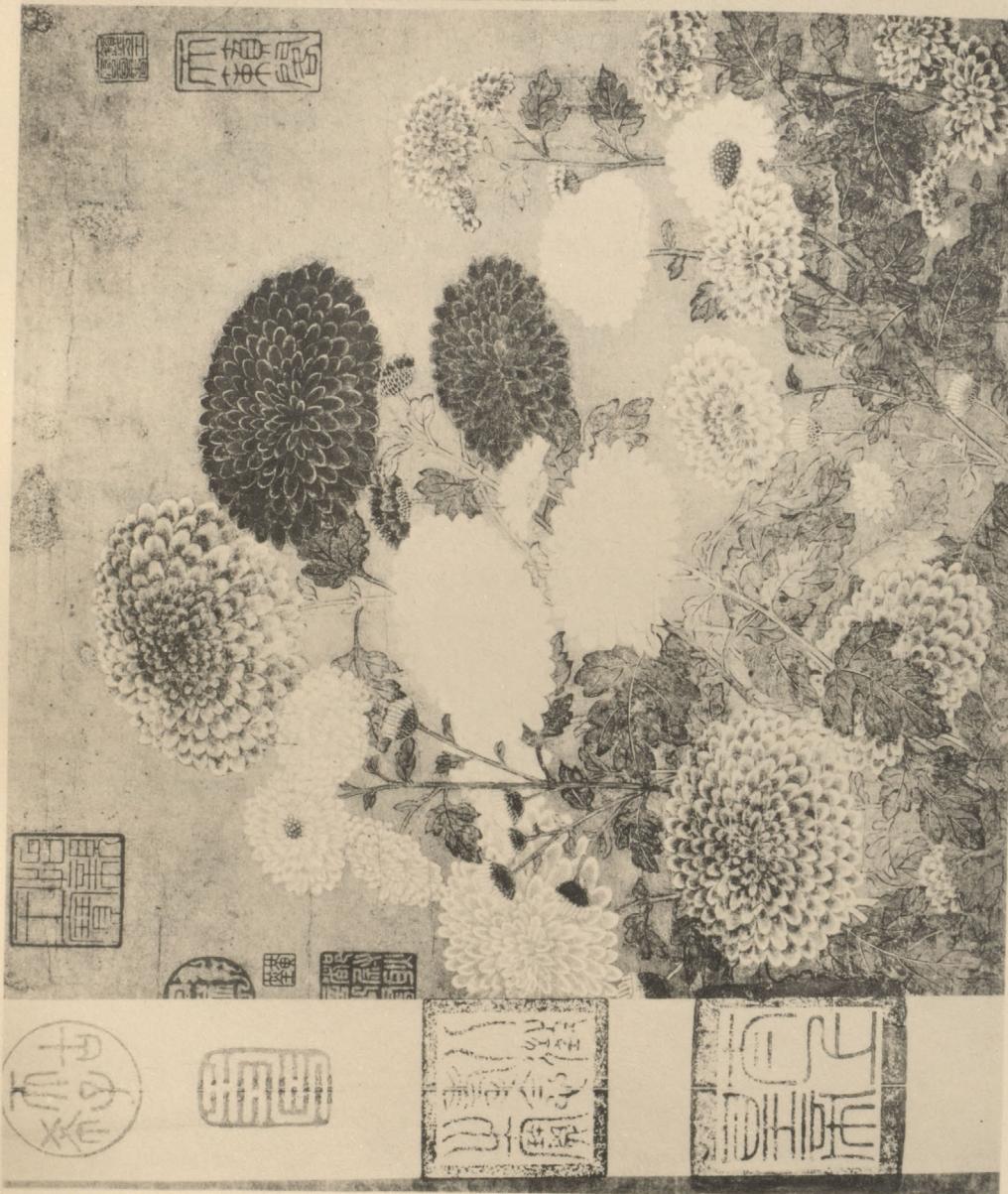
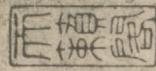
Kuan Hsiu was a Buddhist priest of the Han Shan Temple in Ssü-ch'uan Province. Before entering the priesthood he had already made a name for himself in Lan-hsi (modern Chin-hua in Chekiang Province) as a scholar and calligraphist under his family name Chiang. When he went to Ssü-ch'uan in 936, he was received with great honor by the ruler of the principality of Shu, who bestowed upon him imperial robes and an honorary title. His calligraphy is said to have been not inferior to that of Huai Su, but no examples of it have been preserved other than his signatures. In the Hsüan Ho Collection there were thirty specimens of his work of which twenty-six were pictures of Lo-han. The most famous of these is the scroll preserved in the Kodai-ji Temple in Japan, where it is said to have been kept continuously for eight hundred years, having been taken from China to Japan by a Buddhist priest. A small painting by this artist forty-seven inches high and nineteen inches wide is in the Metropolitan Museum, New York. It is the picture of a Lohan attended by a servant. On the left-hand border is the signature of Kuan Hsiu, this artist having been fond of exhibiting his calligraphy by signing all his pictures. There are also specimens of his work in the Imperial Collection, Peking.

Tiao Kuang-yin, or, as he is often called, Tiao Kuang, was a native of Ch'ang-an (modern Hsi-an), but removed to Ssü-ch'uan during the reign of T'ien Fu (Chao Tsung), A.D. 902, and distinguished himself as a painter of birds, flowers, and animals. He continued painting until he was more than eighty years of age. At the time of the Emperor Hui Tsung it is recorded that his mural paintings of flowers and bamboos were still extant in

the temples of Ssü-ch'uan. In the Hsüan Ho Collection there were twenty-three specimens of his work, all of which were pictures of birds and flowers. In the Metropolitan Museum, New York, there is a scroll by this artist called "The Gathering of the Feathery Tribes" (*Ts'ung Huang Chi Yü*). The colors of this scroll are exquisitely delicate, and the drawing of pheasants, geese, ducks, egrets, cormorants, and other birds, is lifelike. The arrangement of willow and bamboo trees, as well as of many-shaped rocks, combined with the grouping of the birds, forms a striking composition. This scroll is attested by annotations of Sung Ch'ang-i and Ch'êng I of the Ming dynasty, the latter dating his comments in A.D. 1526. It also bears the seal of Wang Shih-chêng, author of *Wang Shih Shu Hua Yüan*. I have also seen in the Imperial Collection, Peking, an album picture by this artist, depicting monkeys. The brushwork and coloring are identical with the Metropolitan Museum specimen.

Huang Ch'üan studied under Tiao Kuang-yin and rose to the position of superintendent of the palace under the usurping Shu Emperor, Mêng Ch'ang. As he was a native of Ssü-ch'uan this distinction gave him a high standing among the men of his own generation and made it easy for him to gain recognition as a painter. He attained fame at a very early age, and was able to produce a large number of paintings. The Hsüan Ho Collection had three hundred and forty-nine specimens of his work. In the Imperial Collection, Peking, is a small painting of asters in which the splendid color effects obtained by this artist are seen. There is also an example of his work in the Metropolitan Museum signed with the artist's name. Judging from these two paintings it is evident that the chief excellence of this artist was his ability in obtaining color effects, and that his chief weakness was in composition. I have seen in the Imperial Collection a painting attributed to his son, Huang Chü-ts'ai. The work of father and son was so nearly alike that it would be impossible to distinguish one from the other. The fondness of the Emperor Ch'ien Lung for the small painting by Huang Ch'üan in his collection can be seen by the number of seals which he attached to it, the last one, T'ai Shang Huang Ti, having been affixed after the emperor had been on the throne more than fifty years.

五代黃筌字要叔成都人幼有畫性刀屢士授之竹
石花雀曲盡其妙又學孫位李昇爲繼捐益遂成師
藝仕蜀爲檢校步府少倅上杜國見益州名畫錄



A FLOWER PAINTING, BY HUANG CH'ÜAN

VII

PAINTERS OF THE NORTHERN SUNG DYNASTY:
LANDSCAPE ARTISTS

IN 960 the Sung dynasty was founded by Chao K'uang-yin, whose soldiers placed upon him the imperial yellow robe at Ch'en Chiao, a military post northeast of K'ai-feng. He chose K'ai-feng as his capital. Easily accessible, situated on the banks of the Yellow River in the heart of the region where early Chinese civilization began, this city became the center of influence during a period most illustrious for its patronage of literature and art. Until the inroads of the Tartar tribes drove the dynasty in 1126 to seek a more secure site south of the Yangtse, K'ai-feng witnessed the comings and goings of a larger group of distinguished statesmen, littérateurs, poets, and artists than ever graced the capital city of any ancient or modern country. It was a period of reorganization after a half-century of anarchy and disorder. Even the thoughts of men needed to be collected into an authoritative system. Uniformity became the watchword of the national leaders, and though it was bitterly opposed by such men as Wang An-shih in theories of political administration, and as Su Shih in literary interpretation, it won the day. The Northern Sung period is distinguished chiefly by the casting of the inner thoughts and outward expressions of men into fixed molds. The broad teachings of Confucius which had been interpreted previously according to the personal ideas of commentators were crystallized into the clear, cold system of the two Ch'eng and Chu Hsi. This spirit of the age was reflected in painting. Here freedom became restricted, conventions arose, technicalities assumed a place of importance, and the power of precedent asserted itself. General opinion in the T'ang dynasty and in the Five Dynasties had favored the development of individualism in taste and expression; the Northern Sung changed all this. Its aim was not development, but tranquillity, and though it reached a higher

level perhaps than either of its predecessors, it was the height of a wide mountain plateau, not of impressive peaks.

Under such general influences it was natural that in pictorial art the chief development of the Northern Sung should be landscape painting, for in this it was easier than in any other form to conventionalize and systematize. Among twenty artists of this dynasty who are to be mentioned ten were landscapists, and in discussing their work it will be seen how the tendency toward fixed standards was fostered and developed. Seven of these great painters of landscape flourished during the first forty years of the new empire. They not only attained to immortal fame on account of their paintings, but what is of still greater significance, they also became the models for all subsequent artists.

Li Ch'êng is one of the most important of these landscapists of the early part of the Northern Sung dynasty. He was a descendant of the T'ang dynasty emperors. His ancestors had removed from Shensi to Ying-ch'iu in Shantung Province, and it was there that Li Ch'êng was born. From the name of his birthplace he is often spoken of as Li Ying-ch'iu. He was not a prolific painter, and Mi Fei, on account of having seen only two of his paintings, peevishly remarked that there was no use of attempting to discuss Li Ch'êng. Fortunately his most important painting, "Studying the Tablet" (*Tu Pei T'u*), has been preserved to our time, and is now in the possession of Ching Hsien, Peking. This is a hanging picture about four feet in height, made on double strips of silk. The background is a landscape done in highly saturated ink (*shui mo*). This landscape of itself is most beautifully executed and lends distinction to the governing idea of the painting, a tablet in front of which a man is standing attended by a small boy. In his left hand the man carries a hamper, and his gaze is fixed intently upon the tablet on which may be seen indistinctly characters written in an ancient style. On the lower left-hand border of the tablet is an inscription of eight characters which states that the figures of the painting were done by Wang Hsiao, and the trees and rocks by Li Ch'êng (*Wang Hsiao Jen Wu Li Ch'êng Shu Shih*). The *Mo Yüan Hui Kuan*, in discussing this painting, narrates that during the Ming dynasty Mr. Ts'ai,

of San-han, had a Sung dynasty reproduction of it. This reproduction, which was evidently the work of an academician, is now also in the collection of Ching Hsien. I have frequently examined at the same time these two paintings, the original and the reproduction, and have found the reproduction of such an excellent quality that it could easily have passed for an original, although with the original in view one is able to detect in the reproduction the distinguishing characteristics of academy paintings which aimed at studied and punctilious effects.

This artist was fond of depicting winter scenes, full of gloomy effects. The *Shih Ku T'ang* describes twelve paintings by Li Ch'êng, and of these seven are winter scenes. Two of them are called *Han Lin*, i.e., "Groves in Winter," and one is "Winter Magpies" (*Han Ya*). Another is "A Wintry Grove in a Desolate Plain" (*Han Lin Ping Yeh*). The "Winter Magpies" was formerly in the collection of Li Mei-sêng, and is now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York. In the foreground is a group of leafless trees over which are flying dozens of magpies ready to join their companions perched upon the branches. In the background are houses grouped in the midst of other trees around which magpies are also hovering. Beyond arise distant peaks of barren hills. The whole atmosphere of the painting produces a feeling of chilliness in the beholder. Attached to this painting are five seals of the Emperor Ch'ien Lung, one of Hsiang Yüan-pien, one of Wang Hung-hsü (d. 1737), and one of Wu Yüan-hui.

Shên Kua (A.D. 1030-93), in his *Miscellanea*, criticizes Li Ch'êng for the turned-up eaves on the buildings in his landscape, and also for showing the valleys between mountain ridges. The critic maintained that the perspective of the artist was wrong and that he did not know how to produce proper effects of height and distance, and trusted to clever devices to help himself out. This criticism was to a large extent well founded. The chief defect of Li Ch'êng's painting was that he attempted to put too much into his scenes, with the result that they appear overcrowded, but his use of brush strokes was unsurpassed, and his painting was free from the conventionalism of later artists.

Fan K'uan was a contemporary of Li Ch'êng, but little is known of his

history outside of the fact that he was a Honan man who journeyed frequently between the capitals K'ai-fêng and Lo-yang. The *Hsüan Ho Hua P'u* states that in his earlier years he painted in the style of Wang Wei, during his middle life in the style of Wei Hsieh, and in his more mature years followed the styles of Lu T'an-wei and Wu Tao-tzü. The truth underlying this statement is that he painted with a great freedom of style and with a wide range of subjects, while at the same time he drew from earlier masters as much as possible. The best known of his paintings is a scroll called "Autumnal Glow" (*Yen Lan Ch'iu Hsiao*), now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York. In the *Catalogue of Chinese Paintings* published by the Metropolitan Museum in 1914 and prepared by myself, this scroll through a misprint was called "A Winter Landscape." It is on silk, fifteen and three-quarters inches in height and twenty feet in length. Full accounts of this remarkable painting are contained in *Ch'ing-ho Shu Hua Fang*, *Shih Ku T'ang*, and *Jang Li Kuan*. After the first inner label there are several seals of Hsiang Yüan-pien. Following these are an earlier label at the end of which are the two cyclical characters *chi ch'ou*, and four imperial seals of the Emperor Hui Tsung. These two cyclical characters indicate the year 1109, which may be taken as the year in which this scroll came into the possession of the Emperor Hui Tsung. There are also eleven other seals of Hsiang Yüan-pien. The first annotation was written by Yang Shih-ch'i, an eminent critic of the Yüan dynasty. According to *Ch'ing-ho Shu Hua Fang* and *Shih Ku T'ang*, there were annotations on this scroll by Chao Mêng-fu, Kung Hsiao, Wang Mêng, Yeh Kuang-chü, Liu Yüan-tso, and Chang Fu-fêng, but these have disappeared in the remounting, and an annotation by Yang Shih-ch'i has been added. This annotation of Yang Shih-ch'i is undoubtedly genuine and is attested by four seals of Hsiang Yüan-pien, but as it makes no mention of this particular scroll it must originally have been attached to another scroll of the same artist and transferred to this one. The severance of annotations by well-known writers from original scrolls and the transference of other annotations have been done not infrequently by owners and dealers who have thereby been able to obtain two valuable possessions instead of one. As a general rule it is safe to say that only annotations in which

definite reference to an attached painting is made can be relied upon as genuine, unless, perchance, their authenticity can be confirmed from contemporaneous writings. In the case of this scroll there is no need of depending upon any annotations; the painting speaks for itself. Fortunately it is also attested by the seals of Hui Tsung. Even if it cannot be proved beyond peradventure that this scroll is an original painting by Fan K'uan, these seals are sufficient to show that its production was not later than the time of Hui Tsung, which was only a little more than a hundred years after the death of this artist.

An excellent example of the work of Hsü Tao-ning is the scroll formerly owned by Tuan Fang. The name of this scroll is "The Hsiao Temple on a Hill Overlooking a River" (*Chiang Shan Hsiao Ssü*). The artist has not followed the usual method of landscapists in placing the temple, which is the central feature, in the middle of the scroll; he has placed it at the end, making the larger part of the picture an approach to the temple. The temple itself is partly hidden by a projecting peak. Below is the river with small boats plying their way hither and thither. The artist has preserved the balance of the picture by inserting in the center a group of buildings which belong to the main temple. This Hsiao Temple was built by the Emperor Wu Ti (A.D. 502-49) of the Liang dynasty, who ordered the famous calligraphist, Hsiao Tzü-yün, to write for it the character Hsiao of large size in the *fei-pai* style, i.e., so that the hairs of the brush would separate and leave blank spots not covered with ink. This character, *Hsiao*, was the family name of the emperor, and it is said that when the temple was destroyed the board on which *Hsiao* was written was the only thing which remained uninjured. This scroll of Hsü Tao-ning is in monochrome. It has a label written by the Emperor Kao Tsung (1127-62) of the Southern Sung dynasty, and an annotation by Su Chiung, great-grandson of Su Sung, the poet. There are many important seals, among which are one of the Emperor Kao Tsung and another of Chia Ssü-tao. Another interesting feature of this scroll is an extra label which follows the annotation of Su Chiung, and was written by Chang Chao, the noted calligraphist of the K'ang Hsi period. This scroll is recorded in nearly all of the important critiques, and forms one of the

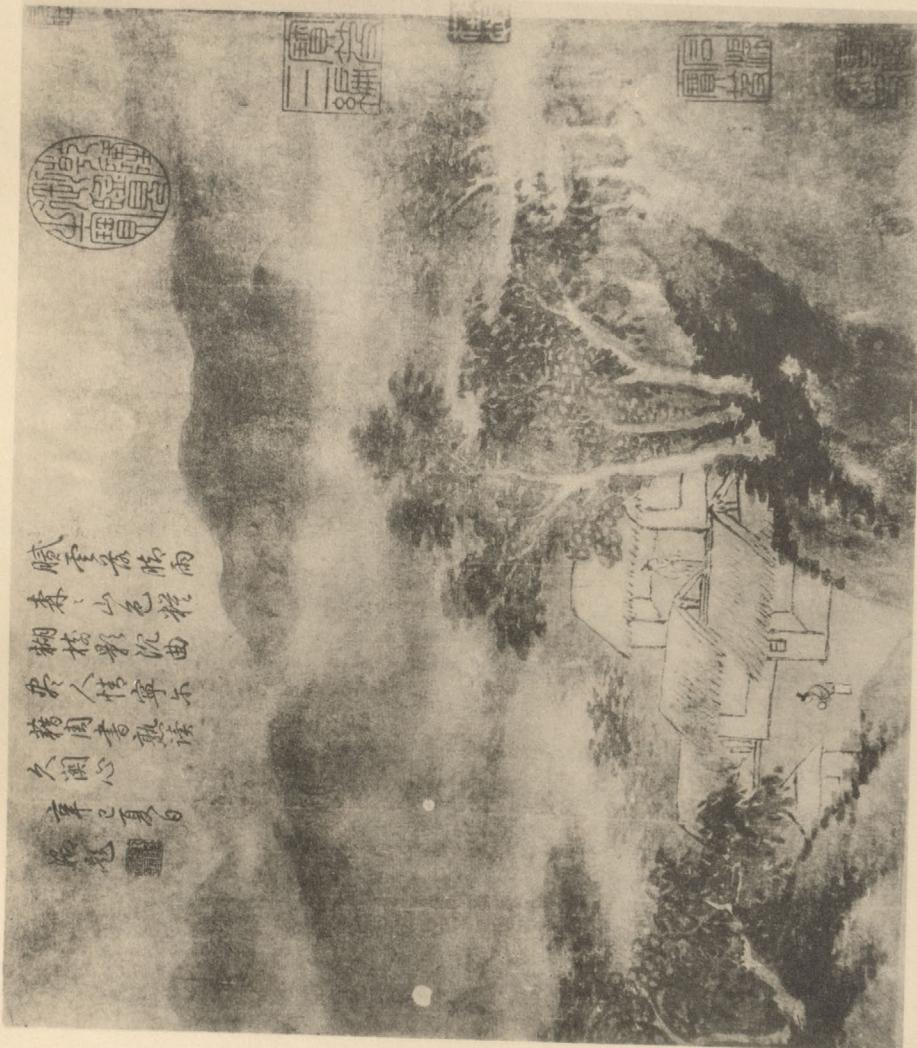
most valuable remains of early Sung painting, which merits our particular attention and most careful study.

Tung Yüan painted the hills of his own native Kiang-nan in the vicinity of Nanking. He is classed with the Sung artists, though in reality he began his work during the latter part of the Southern T'ang. One of his most famous paintings is "Travelers in Summer Hills" (*Hsia Shan Hsing Lü*). This was in the collection of Chao Mêng-fu in the Yüan dynasty, and several descriptions of it remain, although the painting itself has disappeared. At the opening of the scroll there was a grove through which travelers passed to a high hill. Circling around this hill to the left the pathway descended and soon entered another thick grove. Beyond this was a higher hill with two peaks partly covered with mist. It has been described as a masterpiece of composition. Another painting which was owned by the Yü family of Honan in the Ming dynasty was "Turrets in the Fairy Hills" (*Hsien Shan Lou Ko*). The description of this painting in *Ch'ing-bo Shu Hua Fang* states that the trees and rocks had an impressive ancient appearance, that the figures were full of life, and that the center of the picture contained an example of *chieh hua* ("measured paintings") equal to any of the later work of Kuo Chung-shu.

The Boston Museum of Fine Arts has the fragment of a scroll by Tung Yüan, called "Wind and Rain in Hills and Valleys" (*Hsi Shan Feng Yü*). This scroll was owned in the Ming dynasty by Yü Cho, Shên Chou, and Wu Yüan-po. Since the time of the Ming dynasty this scroll has only been a fragment, but all of the critics unite in saying that it is an excellent example of the work of Tung Yüan. In the collection of Ching Hsien, Peking, there is a hanging picture, three feet seven and one-half inches in height, twenty-six and one-half inches in width, painted on double strips of silk neatly joined together. The name of this picture is "The Recluse on a Hill by the River" (*Chiang Shan Kao Yin*). The locality referred to is the same as that mentioned in the painting of Hsü Tao-ning, already described. This picture has half of the seal of the official redactor, Chi Ch'a Ssü, intrusted with the gathering together of the Sung dynasty treasures after the flight of the court to Hangchow. There are also five seals of the Emperor Ch'ien Lung.

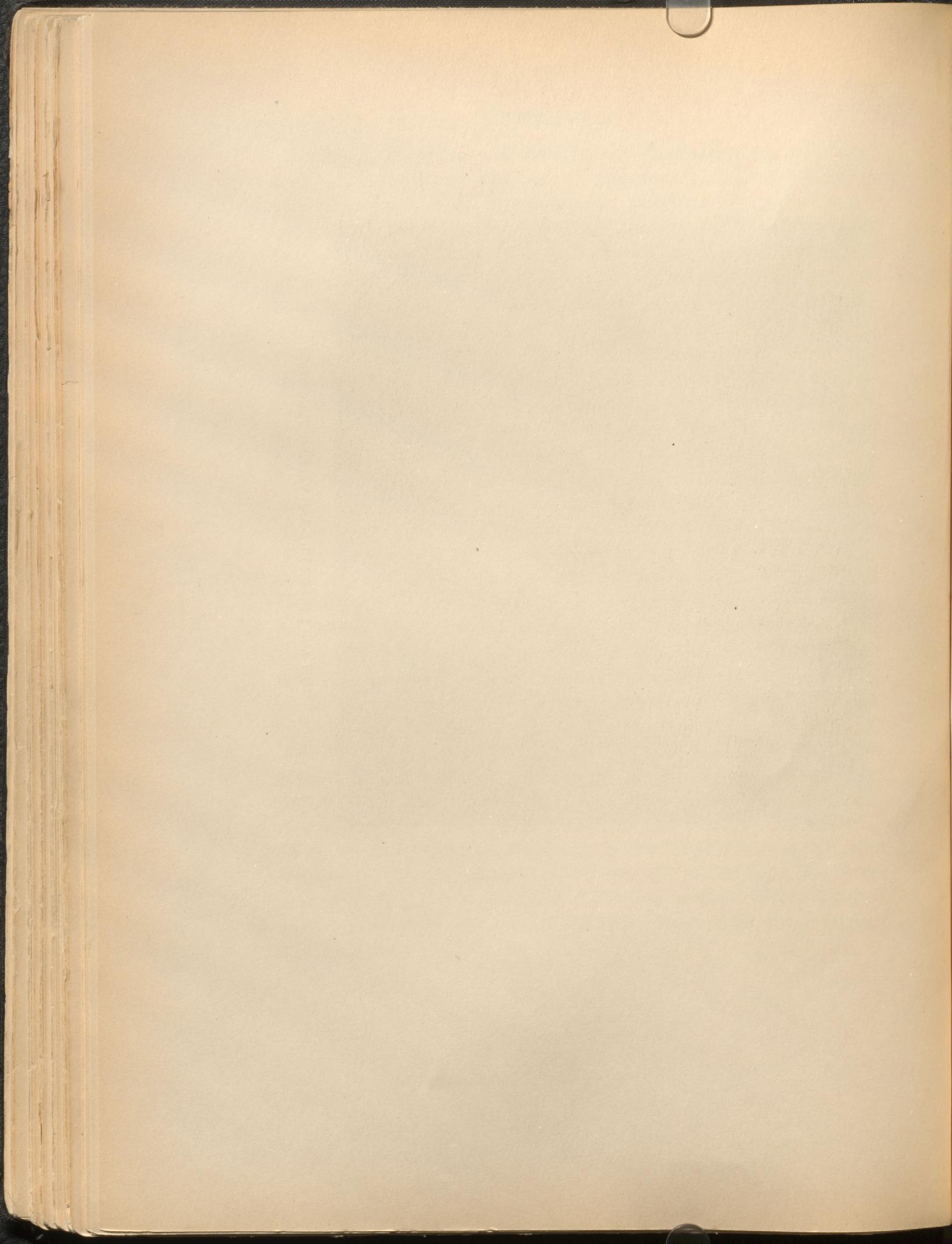
Although Tung Yüan was the most realistic of any of the early landscapists, his landscapes were memory reproductions and not elaborated sketches of nature. They were imaginative reconstructions painted in the quiet seclusion of his studio. He was fond of roaming through the hills, but the landscape which he painted was that which had stamped itself upon his memory and had warmed his soul. He used freely artistic license in adapting any existing landscape to the needs of his general conception. Where there were no gurgling rivulets, pretty pavilions, wayfaring pilgrims, or flagstone bridges, he inserted them in his landscape for no other reason than his own pleasure. His only law was a freedom from attempting to represent nature as it was found at any one time or in any one place. In his memory reproduction he transformed landscape so as to give delight to himself as well as to those who would see his picture. In other words, his landscapes were a reconstruction produced by his imagination, not a composite of actual sketches.

Kuo Chung-shu is usually classed among the artists of the Northern Sung period, although some authorities, including the *Hsüan Ho Hua P'u*, classify him under the Five Dynasties. He was a native of Ho-pei, Honan Province, but the date of his birth or death is not known. His paintings did not gain a name for themselves until several generations had passed. He was the first great painter of architecture in landscape. He set palaces in the midst of beautiful scenes and painted them accurately, not suggestively. He used square and compass, ruler and plumb line, so that the drawing of his palaces was correct according to scale. In landscapes the painting of buildings with the aid of instruments so that they are true in proportions is called "measured painting" (*chieh hua*). In this branch Kuo Chung-shu was the first and still remains the greatest master. Two of his famous paintings of palaces were those of the city and country residences of Ch'ien Liu (A.D. 851-932), the Prince of Wu Yüeh, whose capital was Hangchow. These were called "The Palace of Yüeh Wang" (*Yüeh Wang Kung Tien*) and "The Summer Villa" (*Pi Shu Kung Tien*). The former was in the collection of Yen Sung in the Ming dynasty, the latter in that of Wên Chêng-ming.



MIST AND RAIN ON HILL AND VALE, BY TUNG YÜAN

臘雪香飴雨
春山色碧
湖林影沉幽
寒人情寧柔
移園書熟淡
久閑心自安
草堂真易
裕遠



In Volume III, No. 1 (1914), of *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, the Wang Ch'uan scroll by this artist was described by me in detail. Wang Ch'uan was the place where Wang Wei built his villa so as to provide a refuge from the cares of the world. It was located in the mountainous district of the southern part of Lan-t'ien, Shansi Province. As has already been mentioned, this place, Wang Ch'uan, became the subject of a great poem and a famous picture by this poet-artist, Wang Wei. Kuo Chung-shu made a reproduction of the Wang Ch'uan scroll of Wang Wei, and this is now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York. It is on silk, sixteen feet one inch in length and twelve and a half inches in height. Twenty places mentioned in the poem of Wang Wei are depicted, and the poem itself is copied at the end of the picture on a separate piece of paper by Chao Jung (Chao Chung-mo) of the Yüan dynasty. The twenty stanzas of the poem sing the praises or extol the beauties of these places, but give no details from which an artist could construct a painting. Poem and picture are alike works of imaginative genius. In the scroll beautiful trees cover the hills, boats are on the broad stream on the edges of which storks are wading; there is a deer park, a hillock covered with bamboos, a grove of magnolia trees, another of pepper trees, another of wavy willows, a waterfall; birds are flying in the air—all the delights of eye and ear were brought together in this one lovely spot. This scroll is fully described in *Shih Ku T'ang* and *Ch'ing-ho Shu Hua Fang*. Its genuineness is attested by a number of important seals such as *Chi Hsien Yüan* of Kublai Khan (the second emperor of the Yüan dynasty), one of Chao Mêng-fu, one of Shên Chou, one of T'ang Yin, two of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, and one of Hsiang Yüan-pien.

Yen Wén-kuei, who was a native of Wu-hsing (modern Soochow), flourished during the reign of T'ai Tsung (976-97), at whose court he was a favorite. He used very thin lines and warm brilliant colors. Mi Fei describes two paintings by this artist. One of these was "A Market Scene on the Seventh Night" (*Chi Hsi Yeh Shih*). This portrays the bright colors on the seventh day of the seventh moon when the Weaving Damsel meets the Shepherd Boy in the sky. The other painting, less than a foot in size, was called "Crossing the Sea" (*Po Ch'üan Tu Hai*). The size of the boat was

that of a leaf, and the men on it like kernels of wheat, and yet, notwithstanding the minute size of the objects depicted, one could see the confusion on the boat and the hurried movements of its occupants preparing to face the storm and waves. Even the distant peaks appeared to extend a thousand *li* in the distance. Though crowded with details, the paintings of this artist never seem confused; the brilliant composition caused each small item to fit into the harmonious grandeur of the whole. The Metropolitan Museum, New York, has a landscape scroll signed with the name of Yen Wêng-kuei, and bearing the Hsüan Ho gourd-shaped seal of the Emperor Hui Tsung, and a rectangular seal, *Chung Shan K'ai Kuo*, of Hsü Ta (A.D. 1329-83). This scroll must have been one of the paintings gathered from various sources as presents to Hung Wu, founder of the Ming dynasty. Hsü Ta captured K'ai-fêng and Peking, driving the Mongols northwestward toward their ancient home. He gained a great reputation on account of his strict prohibition of pillaging by his soldiers. It is probable that during the capture of some of the wealthy northern cities Hsü Ta obtained this scroll. It was the custom for conquering generals at the beginning of each dynasty to acquire as many valuable art productions as possible, and to present them to the new emperor. Hsü Ta had a rare opportunity during his conquest of the regions in which the Sung, Liao, Chin, and Yüan dynasties flourished. The style of painting in this scroll fully accords with the descriptions of that of Yen Wêng-kuei. Although there is no means of verifying it as a genuine specimen of his work, it may be considered at least as an early authentic reproduction of his style.

The priest, Chü Jan, is the seventh and last member of the distinguished group of landscapists that graced the early years of the Northern Sung dynasty. He was a native of Nanking, where he entered the K'ai Yüan Monastery. He became a great favorite of Li Yü, the last emperor of the Southern T'ang dynasty, and when Li Yü capitulated to the Sung emperor, T'ai Tsung, the priest Chü Jan was recommended to the court at K'ai-fêng. Here he was given a position in the K'ai Pao Monastery, and soon made for himself a great name. He followed the style which had been adopted by Tung Yüan, and became master of his art. During the succeeding dynasty



AUTUMN HILLS, BY YEN WÊN-KUEI

a saying arose that "in earlier times there were Ching Hao and Kuan T'ung, and in later times Tung Yüan and Chü Jan." One of his famous paintings had for its subject the pilfering of the Lan-t'ing manuscript by Hsiao I. This is described fully in *Ch'ing-ho Shu Hua Fang*, but as far as I know, the picture has now disappeared. Another famous picture known during the Ming dynasty, and mentioned also at the beginning of the Manchu dynasty in *Shih Ku T'ang*, was "A Fishing Boat" (*Ch'iu Shan Yü T'ing*). In the collection of Tuan Fang there was the scroll, "Views of the Yangtse" (*Ch'ang Chiang Wan Li*), which is illustrated in *Kokka*, No. 252. This is now in the collection of Fêng Hsü, of Peking. It is a long scroll on silk. The views which it depicts start from Pa-shu (modern Ssü-ch'uan), and various places are selected down the course of the river as far as Jun-chou (modern Chin-kiang). The names of the places are written in small characters over the landscape. The brush strokes are very fine, contrary to the usual style of his brush strokes, which are thick and vigorous. There is a specimen of his work in the Cleveland Museum. It is a hanging picture, five feet seven inches in height, and three feet five and one-half inches in width, painted on two strips of silk. On the side of the painting is a seal certifying that it was presented to the first emperor of the Manchu dynasty, Shun Chih, by Sung Ch'üan. Sung Ch'üan was the last governor of Peking under the Ming. He only held the position for three days when the city was captured by Li Tzü-ch'êng, who promptly reappointed him, and he continued in office for two years. He then became chief minister of state for six years, and it was during the first year of his tenure of this high office that he presented this painting to the emperor.

From the beginning of the eleventh century down to the end of the Northern Sung dynasty (1126) there was proportionately a much smaller number of great artists than during the first years when the seven great artists, who have been described in the preceding paragraphs, made their reputations. In this long period of a century and a quarter there were only three landscapists whose names can be coupled with those of their immediate predecessors. These are Kuo Hsi, Chao Ling-jang, and Mi Fei.

Kuo Hsi was the most important of these three artists, and fortunately

good specimens of his work are still extant. In the collection of Tuan Fang there was a scroll called "The Clearing of Autumnal Skies" (*Hsi Shan Ch'iu Chi*). This picture is illustrated in *Kokka*, No. 250. It is a monochrome painting done with thick ink thoroughly saturated in water (*shui mo*). According to *Shih Ku T'ang*, the original label of this scroll was written by Ni Tsan, but it has been lost. The earliest seal is that of K'o Chiu-ssü of the Yüan dynasty, and there are three annotations written during the Ming dynasty by Wên Chia, Wang Ch'ih-têng, and Tung Ch'i-ch'ang. I have compared this scroll with one in the Metropolitan Museum called "Mountain Wayfarers" (*Kuan Shan Hsing Lü*), and have found the two identical in style, brushwork, and quality of ink. The scroll in the Metropolitan Museum is one foot seven inches in height and nineteen feet in length. It was formerly in the collection of Wu Jung-kuang, and the inner label was written by this owner who was a distinguished calligraphist. It also has three seals of Erchintai who was one of the Manchu generals accompanying the founder of the Manchu dynasty, Shun Chih. There are also one Sung dynasty imperial seal, *Chi Hsi Tien Pao*, and one of Hsien-yü Chü of the Yüan dynasty, with the three characters *K'un Hsüeh Chai*. This scroll came to the Museum from the collection of Hsü Fu (Hsü Sung-ko), who obtained it from Keng Hsin-kung, and bears the seals of both of these previous owners. Hsü Fu was a noted scholar who became president of the Board of Rites about 1870. There is also another picture by Kuo Hsi in the Metropolitan Museum. It is a hanging picture called "Mountain Scenery" (*Chien Ko Hsing Lü*). This painting is an illustration of a maxim stated by this artist in his essay on landscape (*Lin Ch'üan Kao Chih*) that "landscape must be viewed from a distance in order to be comprehended in its grandeur." To appreciate this picture one must imagine himself looking down upon the landscape from an opposite height. Beyond the massed hills in the far distance may be seen a far-reaching range of hills. The mountain travelers crossing a flagstone bridge, the pavilions clustering at the foot of the hills and overlooking an expanse of water, the trees on the hillside, the gate tower in the valley—these are all subsidiary to the central peak which dominates the whole picture. There is another scroll in the Metropolitan

Museum by this artist which came from the collection of Hsü Chi. It is called "Mountain Travelers on the Hills of Ssü-ch'uan" (*Shu Shan Hsing Lü*), or "Travelers on Summer Hills" (*Hsia Shan Hsing Lü*). This scroll is described in *Shih Ku T'ang*. It is on silk and painted with thin ink. There are several noteworthy annotations. One of these is by Ou-yang Hsüan, a distinguished critic of the Yüan dynasty. The annotations of Wei Su, Wang Ch'ung, and Shên Chou, all of the Ming dynasty, discuss the style of painting used by Kuo Hsi, and unite in appraising his work as equal to that of Li Ch'êng. It has been pointed out by various critics that Kuo Hsi painted in the style of Li Ch'êng, but it seems to me to be truer to the facts to state that this artist was not dependent for inspiration upon any of his predecessors. He was a master in his own right.

Chao Ling-jang (Chao Ta-nien) was connected with the imperial family. He was a precocious student of literature and early turned his attention also to painting. Having risen to a high sinecure official position he was free to devote himself to his studies and painting. His work has always been in great favor with literary men, both on account of his imperial connection and also his scholarly attainments. I have seen a scroll by this artist entitled "Plucking Lotuses" (*Ts'ai Lien*), which came from the collection of Li Tso-hsien of Wei-hsien, Shantung Province. It is richly colored and painted with delicate, fine brush strokes. The work is dainty rather than strong, and is suggestive of a dilettante such as the artist undoubtedly was. He was fond of making small-sized paintings, and I have seen several examples of his work in album collections. Another picture by this artist is called "Home Again" (*Kuei Ch'ü Lai*). It has been illustrated in *Kokka* (No. 224). This picture was commented upon by Mi Fei who lived a generation later than the artist, and who was impressed with the breadth of landscape which the artist was able to encompass in such small space. He also made a painting of wild geese to which frequent reference has been made in poetry. While he cannot be placed in the same class as the great artists of this dynasty, the favorable comments of Mi Fei have given him such a high position as warrants the joining of his name with theirs in this chapter.

Two of the greatest literary men in the history of China lived during the latter part of the Northern Sung. These were Su Shih (Su Tung-p'o) and Mi Fei (Mi Yüan-chang). Su Shih was a calligraphist and concurrently a painter; Mi Fei was a painter and concurrently a calligraphist. Mi Fei as a landscapist had a style of his own. He piled ink upon ink almost as if he were working in oil. He used thickly saturated ink in depicting the tops of hills whose bases were enveloped in mist, thus bringing out strong contrasts. His "Mist on the Hills" (*Yün Shan*) has a colophon stating that it was painted by Mi Fei on an autumn day in the second year of the Emperor Yüan Fêng, i.e., A.D. 1079. In this picture the cone of a mountain top rises above a heavy mist, below which is a tree-covered hill. It has a seal of the artist (*Ch'u Kuo Mi Fei*) under his signature, also a seal of the Sung Emperor Kao Tsung, and seven seals of Ch'ien Lung to whose collection it formerly belonged. There was a painting signed by Mi Fei loaned by the former Emperor Hsüan T'ung to the exhibition held in Central Park, May, 1923. It was called "Pine Trees on Hills in Spring" (*Ch'un Shan Jui Sung*), and although I have found no record of this painting among early collections, it is undoubtedly in the style of Mi Fei and worthy of his brush. It was done on paper as was also "Mist on the Hills." His style was too far removed from the brush strokes of calligraphy to become a permanent influence in painting. It was followed by his son, Mi Yu-jên, by Fang Fang-hu of the Yüan dynasty, and attempted by Tung Ch'i-ch'ang of the Ming dynasty in some of his paintings, but without much success. It remains the individualistic style of Mi Fei, and the high opinion of it, expressed by critics in spite of its peculiarity, is the highest possible tribute to his great talents.

These great artists painted landscape for its own sake, not as a mere background for some other leading idea. The early landscapists of Europe seem to have introduced the landscape chiefly as a helpful adjunct to their dominant historical tales or as affording an opportunity for displaying their power in producing striking color effects. This rule was exemplified by Gozzoli's "Procession of the Magi," Titian's "Landscape with Satyrs," or Claude Lorrain's "Flight into Egypt." Only occasional instances of painting landscape for its own beauty occurred, such as Leonardo da Vinci's



A WINTER SCENE, BY SU SHIH

"Study of a Tree"; "The Pasturage," by Karal du Jardin (Louvre); "The Travelers," an etching by Ruysdael (in the Bibliothèque Nationale); or "Landscape with Animals," by Thomas Gainsborough. With most artists convention and formulas were all important rather than a study of nature. Even Watteau used the landscape as an accessory rather than as a primary motive, though his love of nature was the chief inspiration of his work and accounted for the development of the modern French school of landscapists who have become the glory of this branch of painting in Europe. Corot, Rousseau, and Millet learned their lessons from Watteau, and he learned his from nature in the same way as Chinese landscapists. Turner's fascination for the effects of light and shade and for strong coloring places him in striking contrast to Chinese methods. With Chinese landscapists nothing could take the place of an intimate acquaintance with the varying moods of mountains and the changing aspect of trees and streams. Landscape with them was worthy of study and representation for its own natural beauty and its spiritual suggestions.

The Chinese term for "landscape" now is *shan-shui* ("hills and water"). An earlier term, *shan-ch'uan*, has the same meaning. These two parts of a landscape, hills and water, have ever been full of mystery and imaginative-ness to the Chinese. The early book, *Shan Hai King*, the "Classic of the Hills and Sea," has many curious tales of nymphs and sprites, creatures of human fancy. These are all gathered around the hills and sea (*shan hai*), which are the essential component parts of a landscape. Of course there are other features such as trees, rocks, animals, human figures, but any one of these may be included or neglected by a Chinese landscapist in his sketch. What cannot be omitted is the hills and water. In our Western conception a landscape is any stretch of country as seen from a single viewpoint. It may be a level tract or studded with hills, but in the technical sense a landscape in China always means hills and must include some water. This fundamental difference in the Chinese conception of the meaning of a landscape must never be forgotten. A Chinese landscape painting includes always a view of mountain scenery, and somewhere in it must be seen the water of a babbling brook, a flowing stream, or an ocean shore. Water is

conventionalized as surface ripples, and this convention is probably as correct as one based upon color. Water has been recognized generally by painters as less interesting in art than in nature.

All of the great landscapists had opportunity for leisurely study of nature. In some instances they wandered in the hills because they loved them; in others the exigencies of political turmoil forced them to take refuge in lonely resorts, and their fondness for nature drove them to the hills. Li Ssü-hsün spent years in retirement from official life after the usurpation of the Empress Wu; Wang Wei retired to the hills of Shansi where he lived alone; Li Shêng wandered constantly among the mountain scenes of his native province Ssü-ch'uan; Li Ch'êng, though descended from the imperial house of T'ang, led the life of a wanderer and sauntered from Si-an-fu to Ying-ch'iu in Shantung; Fan K'uan illustrated his own maxim that it is better to study nature itself than the style of great masters by spending much of his time in wandering between the capital city of the Sung, K'ai-fêng, and the old capital city of Lo-yang; Kuo Chung-shu led a stormy life, spending much of his time in hiding in the hills where he studied nature.

And yet, notwithstanding this intimacy with nature as a whole and familiarity with all the details of many specially beautiful places, these artists never attempted to depict scenes such as could be readily localized. They avoided the risk of a reversion to topography to which their landscape painting undoubtedly owed its origin. They recognized that accurate drawings from nature, no matter how skilfully colored, could only be examples of topography, and they chose rather to exercise complete liberty in arranging their material so as to produce the strongest possible influence upon the souls of those who would view their work. They did not interest themselves in accuracy; their aim was to effect a spiritual impression. Their view of a landscape was that of a poet who freely discards or exaggerates. They had the sole aim of producing an artistic response in the mind of the beholder. Their sketches from nature (*shih miao*) were for personal use, but in their paintings they copied no recognizable views, for they well knew that no view remains the same for two hours in succession. They spiritual-

ized and idealized what they saw, seizing upon such features as would serve their high purpose. They did for the barren, rugged hills of northern China in their paintings what Scott did for the dismal scenery of the Highlands in his writings, where the Scotch hills are filled with romantic associations which could not have been duplicated elsewhere. Chinese landscapists have revealed in their paintings a devotion to the majesty and mystery of their own hillsides which never fails to stir the hearts of their countrymen. They have preserved spiritual aspects, which are, after all, the permanent features of scenes as far as an appeal to the human soul is concerned. A correct understanding of artistic emotions is of much greater importance than accuracy of drawing. No painstaking reproduction can convey the same impression as is produced by the scene itself, but a landscapist who catches the spiritual in nature can communicate it to others. That which is meant to be truthful in representing nature does not in every instance appear truthful as seen in the work of artists; more dependence can be placed upon the transmission of emotional impressions such as have been attempted by Chinese landscapists.

In depicting nature Chinese artists were well justified in their avoidance of the strong contrasts of light and shade as found on bright days, and in their choice of dull atmospheres, for they were brought thereby into intimate communion with nature. Their paintings are sombre, but are full of subtle mystery. They are not luminous, but neither are they obscure. Artists have not chosen nature on picnic; their nature is the great mystery in the face of which we pass our days. Man is ever in the presence of this strange overmastering power of earth and air, hills and water, which controls his fortunes and often even the measure of his life. Nature is no playful child to be trifled with and amused by; she is a mysterious power, full of glory and majesty. Man is only the third of the great powers, heaven, earth, and man, whose importance equals only this grade in which he is traditionally placed. Heaven is almighty, earth is mysteriously subject to heaven's powers as he finds them revealed on the earth, and he stands always in awe and reverence of them. His is not an anthropomorphic deity; heaven is an overruling law according to the standard interpretation of the ortho-

dox commentator of classical literature, Chu Hsi. Nature in this philosophy is grand, dignified, and mysteriously silent.

As most of the work of these artists was done in monochrome, it was subject to the besetting snare of flatness, but this has been studiously avoided by the Sung landscapists. One can never think of their work as having the superficial accuracy and flatness of photographic effects; on the contrary they always seem to bring out the essential qualities of a landscape. One of the first duties of an artist was to decide between the principal and the subordinate features, or, as it was expressed, between the relative position as a host and his guest. "His great mountain," as Kuo Hsi said, "must dominate the surrounding lower hills." Whether grandeur or distance, rain or wind, whatever is the dominating idea, this must be emphasized, and thus the danger of flatness be avoided. Where the painting reveals no such overmastering principle there was always a tendency to insipidity, and this quality is the sign and the condemnation of the work of the copyists who often rivaled their masters in their skill of brushwork, but utterly failed in catching the dominant feature of the landscape.

Landscape artists were not confined to our convention of perspective. Sometimes the station-point is taken from one hilltop looking out over others still higher and separated by intervening valleys. Again the beholder is on a hill looking up a valley beyond which ridges of hills fade away into the distance. At one time the correct view or ground line is obtained by standing at the right-hand side of the painting, and at others by standing on the left. The beholder is never posited as stationary. He must adjust himself to the artist rather than compel the artist to work as if an observer could not move. The perspective is linear, but instead of one original plane as in Western painting there is a succession of planes one above the other, as in hanging paintings (*li chou*), or one next to the other, as in scrolls (*shou chüan*). The reduction and narrowing of contiguous planes brings the parallel lines to one vanishing-point, not to two as in the Western convention. The perspective is also aerial, for the convention provides for the proper shading and coloring of the picture to produce the desired effect of distance and tint. The Chinese term for perspective is *yüan chin*, i.e., "distant and



牛毛皴王叔明法也一名兔皮皴

1



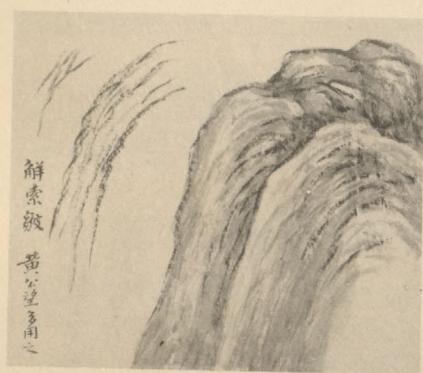
大斧劈皴
馬遠法明人有
變本加厲之弊

2



解索皴
李唐
唐寅等多用之
折帶皴

3



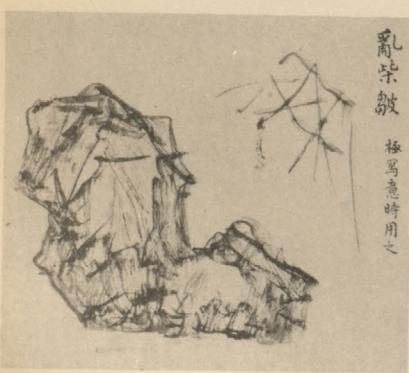
解索皴
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4



披麻皴
自然吳仲圭多用此

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亂柴皴

梅寫意時用之

6



捲雲皴
郭熙法

7



荷葉皴
王維法

8



小斧劈皴
宋人大青
綠山水長
用此法唯
少底耳

9



折帶皴
倪瓈法

10

1. NIU MAO TS'UN, "WRINKLES LIKE THE HAIR ON A COW'S HIDE," USED BY WANG MÊNG. THIS IS ALSO CALLED KUEI P'I TS'UN, "WRINKLES LIKE THOSE ON THE FACE OF A DEMON"
2. TA FU P'I TS'UN, "WRINKLES LIKE THE SLASHES OF A LARGE AXE," USED BY MA YÜAN
3. CHIEH SO AND CHÊ TAI TS'UN, "WRINKLES LIKE THE TWISTS OF A ROPE AND THE FOLDS OF A BELT," USED BY LI T'ANG, T'ANG YIN
4. CHIEH SO TS'UN, "WRINKLES LIKE THE TWISTS OF A ROPE," USED BY HUANG KUNG-WANG
5. P'I MA TS'UN, "WRINKLES LIKE HEMP FIBERS," USED BY TUNG YÜAN, CHÜ JAN, WU CHÊN
6. LUAN CH'AI TS'UN, "WRINKLES LIKE A HEAP OF FIREWOOD," USED IN FREEHAND LANDSCAPE DRAWING
7. CHÜAN YÜN TS'UN, "WRINKLES LIKE CONVOLUTED CLOUDS," USED BY KUO HSI
8. HO YEH TS'UN, "WRINKLES LIKE THE VEINS OF A LOTUS LEAF," USED BY WANG WEI, WHO ALSO USED YÜ TIEN TS'UN, "WRINKLES LIKE RAINDROPS"
9. HSIAO FU P'I TS'UN, "WRINKLES LIKE THE SLASHES OF A SMALL AXE," USED BY LI SSÜ-HSÜN AND LI CH'ENG
10. CHE TAI TS'UN, "WRINKLES LIKE THE FOLDS OF A BELT," USED BY NI TSAN

near," and is taken from the *Book of Changes*. It is a convention much earlier than the European perspective, which came into use in the fifteenth century, and is an adaptation of the method used in bas-reliefs. This convention is not mathematical if judged by our accepted laws, for it is earlier than modern science; but with the Chinese art has never had, as with us, what Kenyon Cox calls the "fatal tendency to become science." It must be granted that the Chinese convention allows greater freedom than the Western, which could not possibly be adapted to the painting of long scrolls of landscape, and is therefore more useful to Chinese artists than a scientifically correct perspective could be. The scroll "Washing the Elephant" is a good illustration of the Chinese method of foreshortening; and "Colors of Ling-an Shan," by Wang Hui, one of the linear and aerial perspective methods.

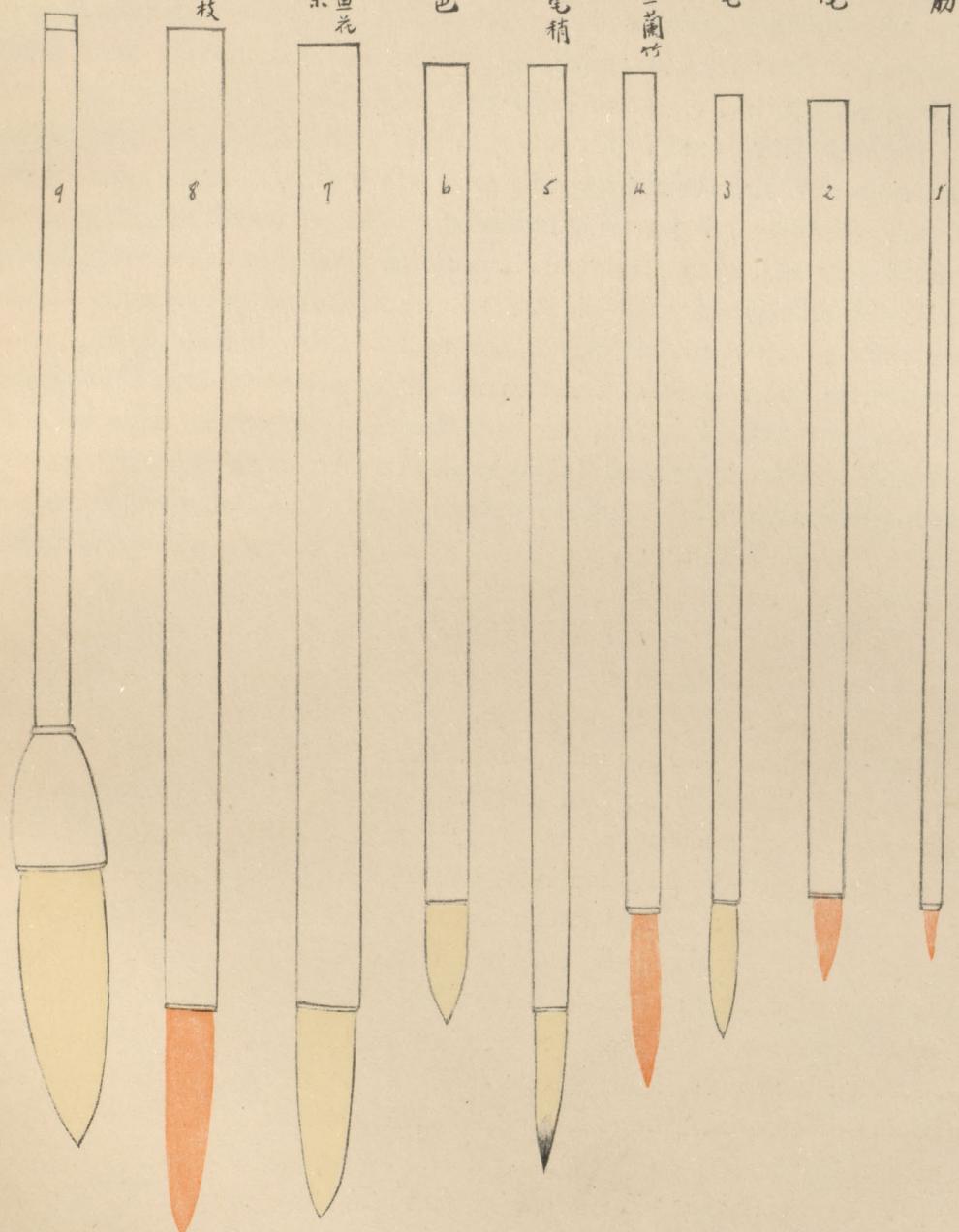
The importance of brush strokes (*pi fab*) became both the greatest glory and the most insidious peril of the Sung landscapists. They were masters of the brush, and their style of mastery was the standard of the division into schools. The most fundamental difference is between artists who used coarse, thick strokes (*ts'u pi*) and those who preferred thin, slender ones (*hsı pi*). The thick strokes were generally used by the bolder souls who were less trammelled by convention than their fellows of the delicate, fine lines. It was next to impossible to use any coloring as an accompaniment to these coarse strokes; monochrome became a necessity with this class of artists, whereas a touch of color was often needed to rescue the gentler style from the dangers of effeminacy. Mi Fei had a style of his own which approached that of our Western artists. He did not trust to simple strokes, whether thick or thin, for the expression of his conceptions; he piled ink upon ink by using strokes upon strokes. His hills were masses of solid ink which thinned out into the light shades of the mist. Even his trees were solid patches in which the trunk and the branches were outlined by the use of a darker shade of ink. Other artists outlined their hills with brush strokes, but Mi Fei preferred solidity.

The hook at the end of lines called "wrinkles" (*ts'un fab*) used in the delineation of mountains, forms also a basis for classification. Li Ssü-hsün

used the small axe strokes (*hsiao fu p'i ts'un*), while Wang Wei used the raindrop strokes (*yü tien ts'un*). There were also the large axe strokes (*ta fu p'i ts'un*) of Li T'ang, the *p'i ma ts'un* of Tung Yüan, and such other refinements of style as lotus-leaf veins (*ho yeh ching ts'un*), convoluted clouds (*chüan yün ts'un*), and many others. The overelaboration of the differences of method in calligraphic painting proved to be a peril. Later artists copied the style and missed the spirit, but their work came to be prized as highly as that of the greater artists. Wang Hui of the early years of the late Manchu dynasty surpassed almost any of the Sung artists in his command of the brush. This has endeared him to modern intellectuals, and good specimens of his work now bring higher prices than those of Sung artists which are much superior in artistic inspiration. This is entirely due to the perfection of Wang's brush strokes. If art were only technique, Wang Hui would rank as one of China's greatest artists, for in this respect he surpasses either Li Ch'eng or Tung Yüan. His is the beauty of the gentle dove which can be handled and fondled; the great Sung masters soared in the heavens like eagles beyond the reach of ordinary men, but still within the scope of admiring vision. Their various styles were picked out by later people; as for the artists themselves, these were but the natural expression of their unfettered spirits.

A knowledge of China's geography is necessary to an understanding of its landscape painters. Just as one cannot rightly appreciate Claude Lorrain without having seen Italy, or Ruysdael without knowing Holland, so one must have seen Chinese scenery in order to judge of its interpretation by Chinese painters. Tung Yüan painted the hills of his own native Kiangnan in the vicinity of Nanking. Fan K'uan studied the shifting clouds and drifting mists from his retreat in the Chung-nan Mountain in Shensi. The Lü Mountains of Kiangsi, the Kuei-chi Range in eastern Chekiang, the hills around the Ch'ien-t'ang River in western Chekiang, and the numerous hill groups of Ssü-ch'uan were all subjects for Sung artists. There were also the two lakes—Po-yang in Kiangsi Province, and the Tung-t'ing in Hunan. The long river which we call the Yangtse Kiang was frequently painted from its source to its mouth (*Ch'ang Chiang Wan Li*). The two Hunan rivers, Hsiao

羊毫斗筆



BRUSHES

1. Made of wolf hair
2. Wolf-hair brush with short point
3. Goat hair with long point
4. Long brush of wolf hair, used in painting lilies and bamboos
5. Made of various kinds of hair
6. Made of goat hair, used in coloring
7. Made of long goat hair, used in painting flowers and leaves
8. Made of long wolf hair, used in painting branches
9. Large brush made of goat hair

and Hsiang, became as famous in art as in poetry. These all form parts of the great national heritage into which Chinese painters were born, and their characteristics are so different from the countries of the West that only a first-hand acquaintance with them is sufficient as a preparation to appreciate their interpretation. There were also historical settings for famous events such as "The Assembly in the Western Garden" (*Hsi Yüan Ya Chi*), where noted scholars enjoyed the beauty of the landscape which enveloped them, or *Wang Ch'uan*, the fanciful creation of Wang Wei, with its bamboo groves, deer park, charming pavilions, and grand halls. The well-known palaces such as the O Pang Kung or the Ta Ming Kung, the Wei Yang Kung, and the Kan Ch'üan Kung, were placed in their appropriate surroundings (*adossement*). In the mind of the Chinese artist these various features were but parts of the geography of their country, and there was premised a familiarity with them which is necessarily absent in the case of Westerners, but none the less needed as a primary equipment for appreciating these wonderful productions.

VIII

PAINTERS OF THE NORTHERN SUNG DYNASTY: OTHER ARTISTS

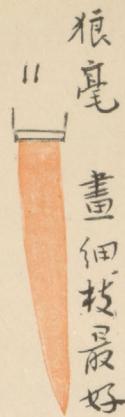
ALTHOUGH landscape painting must be considered the outstanding feature of pictorial art during the Northern Sung dynasty, there were famous artists who devoted their attention chiefly to other subjects. Chou Wên-chü has had no superior in the painting of female figures. The incomparable Li Kung-lin stands in a class by himself as a painter of Buddhistic religious subjects. Chao Ch'ang and Ts'ui Po as painters of flowers, and I Yüan-chi, Ai Hsüan, and the Emperor Hui Tsung as painters of birds, as well as of flowers, are pre-eminent. These artists preserved in some measure the freedom of T'ang painting and did not allow themselves to be bound by the conventions which held sway in the painting of landscapes. Their work was free from the trammels of calligraphic painting; it was wholly imaginative and full of sensuous delight.

Chou Wên-chü belonged to the brilliant group of artists that flourished at Nanking during the contemporaneous Southern T'ang dynasty. His style was undoubtedly influenced by that of his great predecessor of the same surname, Chou Fang, but he had his own individual method in depicting the clothes and attitudes of the women whom he painted. In his scroll "A Summer Evening in the T'ang Palace" (*T'ang Kung Ch'un Shao*) there were eighty-one figures of women and children, all of diminutive size; in his "Six Beautiful Women" (*Liu Mei*), formerly in the collection of Tuan Fang and now owned by Mr. John J. Emery, New York, the figures are all one-third life-size. Whether large or small, their costumes and coiffures were in the style of the T'ang dynasty.

Another famous scroll by this artist was "The O Pang Palace" (*O Pang Kung Yang*). This palace was built by Ch'in Shih Hwang in the third century B.C., a short distance from the capital Hsien Yang (modern Hsi-an)



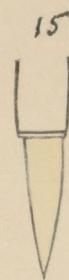
臂刀鬃斗筆 畫大榦用



狼毫 畫細枝最好



中穎羊毫



短穎羊毫

俱宜山水



狼毫鬚眉



紫毫鬚眉

BRUSHES (CONT.)

10. Large brush used in painting large branches

*11. Made of wolf's hair, used in delicate lines

*12. A medium-pointed brush made of goat's hair

*13. A fine-pointed brush made of wolf's hair

*14. A fine-pointed brush made of rabbit hair

*15. Made of goat's hair, with short point

* Used in landscape painting.

in Shensi Province. It had an immense inclosure including a deer park, fishing lakes, and large groves. The palaces of this picture were painted according to scale in the style of "measured paintings" (*chieh hua*). His scroll, "The Parting and Reunion of Su Yo-lan" (*Su Yo-lan Hua Pei Hui Ho*), depicts the romantic tale of Su Yo-lan, wife of Tou T'ao, a general of the anterior Ch'in dynasty. She was married to this man in her youth and proved to be most helpful to him in his public career. Before he was transferred to a distant post he had become infatuated with another beautiful woman, Chao Yang-t'ai, whom he took with him on his long journey. His wife, Su Yo-lan, repined at the loss of her husband's love and determined to show her devotion by weaving with her own hands an acrostic in which she could express her feelings of devotion. Upon hearing of her faithfulness the general sent messengers to bring her to him. It is the parting of the husband and wife and their later reunion that are recorded in this scroll by Chou Wênchü. The acrostic attached to the scroll was written by Li I-an, also of the Sung dynasty. I have seen this same subject painted by a Southern Sung academician and to it attached an acrostic written by Wên Chêng-ming. In the British Museum there is a painting "Children at Play" (*Hsi Ying*), by Chou Wênchü. It is a hanging picture and has great charm, but is a Ming dynasty reproduction. The original painting of this subject by Chou Wênchü was in scroll form and was in the Han family collection during the Ming dynasty. I do not know whether or not it is still in existence.

Li Kung-lin lived at the close of the eleventh and during the early part of the twelfth century. He was a native of Shu-ch'êng in Anhui Province near the provincial capital. He attained to the highest literary degree and was appointed to a post in the Board of Justice. He is known by several names. Li Kung-lin is his ordinary name; his *hao* is Li Po-shih; on account of having lived for a long time in a villa on the Lung-mien Hill, he is called Li Lung-mien; his sobriquet was "The Retired Scholar of Lung-mien" (*Lung-mien Chiü-shih*); from his official position he is also known as Li Chien-fah.

His brilliant talents had good opportunity for full development among the distinguished group of men of which he was a member. There were Mi

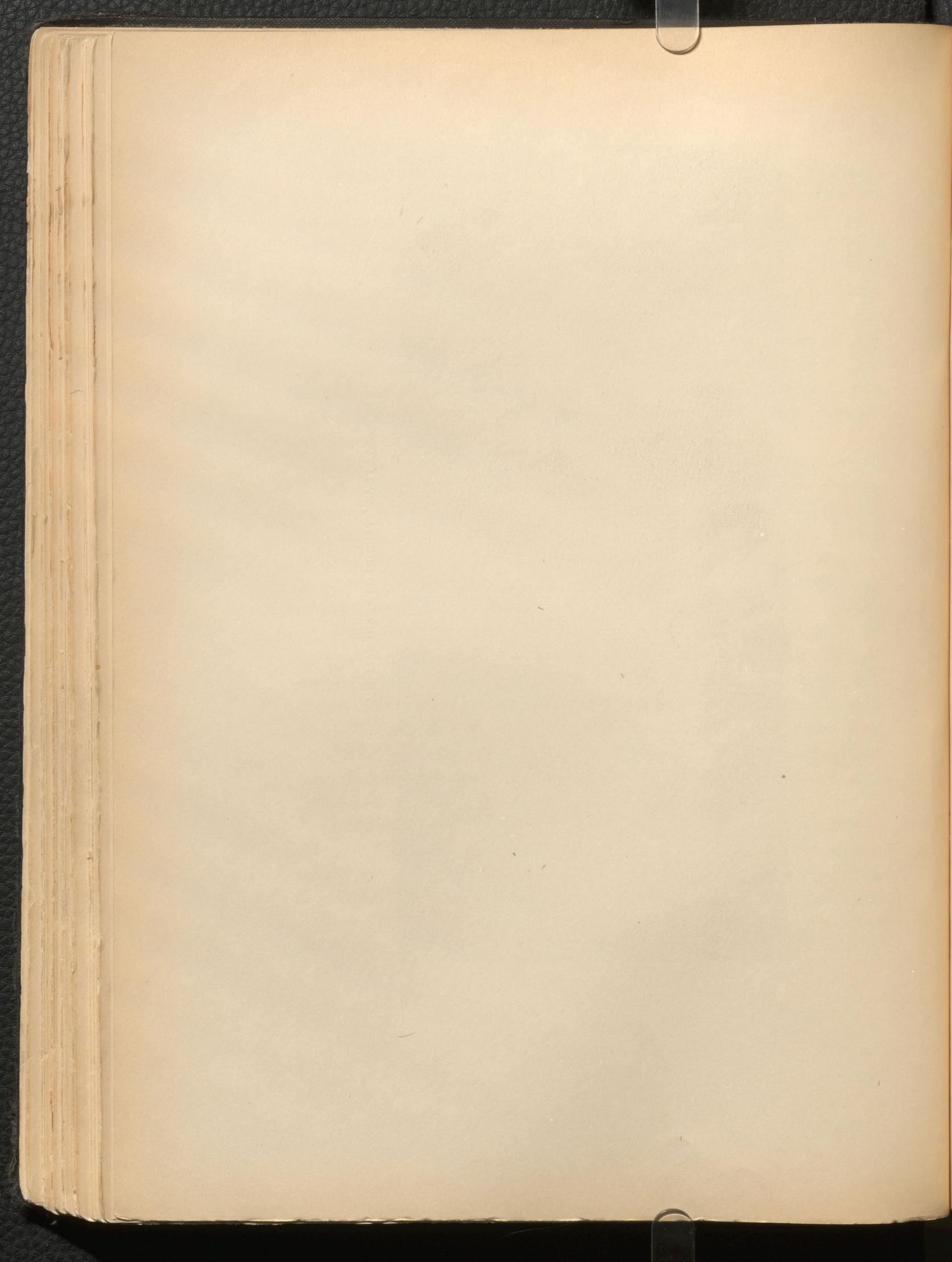
Fei, who was an artist, critic, poet, and antiquarian; Su Shih (Su Tung-p'o), poet, calligraphist, painter, and high official; Su Chê (Su Tzü-yu), only less distinguished than his brother; Wang Hsien (Wang Ching-ch'ing), brother-in-law of the two Su. These friends were fond of gathering in gardens where they spent the day in producing poems, writing skits on one another, looking over ancient bronzes, jades, and stone inscriptions, and in conviviality. The favorite garden resort was the Western Garden (*Hsi Yüan*), and this was commemorated by Li Kung-lin in one of his scrolls, "The Gathering in the Western Garden" (*Hsi Yüan Ya Chi*). This group was composed of men who had had sound literary education and who had attained to high official positions. They had abundant leisure for literary pursuits and aesthetic enjoyments.

Li Kung-lin is the greatest of all the artists of the Northern Sung period, if one judges by the amount of space devoted to him in art histories. He was a constant worker, and due to the influence of his circle of admiring friends, who were contemporary with him, a large proportion of his paintings were preserved so carefully that they were in existence down to the end of the Ming dynasty. It was thus possible for the Ming dynasty writers to leave us valuable critiques of his work. His pre-eminence was in the painting of figures. In original paintings he used *Ch'eng Hsin-t'ang* paper, but silk for reproductions. His use of paper was influenced by his style of brush-work. On paper he painted in black and white, tracing his figures with strong, delicate lines (*pai miao*). He revived the freedom from conventionalism of T'ang dynasty artists, and showed himself such a supreme master of his brush that no one of his time dared to call him to account for departing from the conventions of the great landscapists who had immediately preceded him.

One of the greatest works produced by Li Kung-lin is the scroll of "The Five Hundred Disciples" (*Wu Pai Yin Chén*). This scroll is in a private collection in Peking, and I have many times had the opportunity of examining it in detail. It is signed by the artist and dated the eighth moon of the sixth year of Yüan Fêng (A.D. 1085). The descriptions of this scroll in *Ch'ing-bo Shu Hua Fang*, *Shih Ku T'ang*, and in Giles's *History of Pictorial Art*, 109,

THE FIVE HUNDRED DISCIPLES, BY LI KUNG-LIN





are accurate, though incomplete. The scroll opens with the figure of the Buddhistic god, Chun T'i, who guards the entrance into mortal existence. Chun T'i stands on a rock around which billows are surging. The free way in which the artist treats this subject is characteristic of the whole scroll. The two disks representing the sun and moon, instead of being held in the hands of this god, appear in the midst of the flames which encircle and surmount the figure in ascending jets. One of the four left hands holds a bow and arrow; in another a standard is held; another is ringing a bell; and the fourth is grasping a halberd. In the hands on the right are a sword, a wheel which is supported by two hands, and a precious stone. Chun T'i is dressed in flowing robes, the girdles of which are blown out on either side by the wind in long folds. On his bare breast is a pendant from which three short chains are suspended, similar to that usually seen on figures of Kuan Yin. On the rocky cliff opposite there are three gnarled pine trees which intermingle their branches and spread out over one end of a procession of disciples crossing the sea. Some of these are on dragons, others on turtles, seahorses, shells, leaves, fish, and strange animals, while others tread on the sea as if it were dry land. The grouping of this company of nearly forty disciples is striking. There are three main groups, each of which blends into the other. Some are carrying alms bowls, others prayer rolls, copies of the Buddhistic sutras, figures of images, incense urns, bouquets of flowers; all wear flowing robes, but some have their hands uplifted as if in prayer, while others allow their arms to fall at their sides. This group of disciples is welcoming the dragon from the air which those on an opposite cliff are speeding on its way.

In order to describe this scroll accurately, a whole volume would be necessary, for it refers in some one passage or another to almost every phase of Buddhistic thought and practice known in China. It is sufficient to say that the grouping of the figures shows an infinite variety, that the postures of the figures and the expressions on the countenances are never the same. There are single wayfaring pilgrims threading their ways through lonely paths. Wei T'o and two companions are seen paying obeisance to a deity seated on an overhanging rock. Some are flying through the air on storks,

others on the red bird, the phoenix, and wild goose. One striking group is offering incense and watching the strange figures that appear in the rising cloud; one seated figure is pulling his flesh apart with his two hands exhibiting a sacred heart of love to a devoted group surrounding him. There are goats, dogs, tigers, horses, deer, and other animals. There are bamboos drawn in the split-pen style (*shuang kou*), pine and fir trees, willows, acacias, and gingkos. One of the most beautiful passages is a rustic, circular bridge on which a group of five figures stands watching a waterfall. The author of *Ch'ing-bo Shu Hua Fang* rightly calls attention to the fact that even in this Buddhistic scroll Li Kung-lin could not escape from the pedantry of a scholar, for one of the passages represents a disciple writing on a stone tablet with a pen dipped in ink from an ink tablet held up to him by another disciple. Though he was a devout Buddhist, Li Kung-lin was primarily a great scholar and could not refrain from depicting a scene in which scholarly disciples appear.

From a Western point of view one of the most striking things about this scroll is the use of shadows. All of the heads which are turned to one side have shadows. In some instances these shadows are done lightly in thin ink; in others they are quite dark. As far as I know, this is the only instance in Chinese paintings in which there is a shaded or dark portion representing a shadow. This scroll having been painted on paper in black and white formed a good medium for the introduction of chiaroscuro.

Another well-known scroll by this artist is "The Drunken Priest" (*Tsui Sêng*), now in the collection of Mr. Eugene Meyer, Jr. It is on Ch'êng Hsin-tang paper one foot in height and nearly two feet in length. Although the figures are slightly colored, the style of painting is the same (*pai miao*) as is found in "The Five Hundred Disciples." In the center of the picture a Buddhist priest is seen sitting on a stone under an old pine tree. His left hand rests upon the shoulder of a small boy who is holding out paper on which the priest is attempting to write. There are two attendants, both of them busily engaged in attending to the wine required by the priest. The whole scene suggests the famous poem of Huai Su which commences with the line "All are offering wine" (*Jên jên sung chiu*). The scroll is signed with

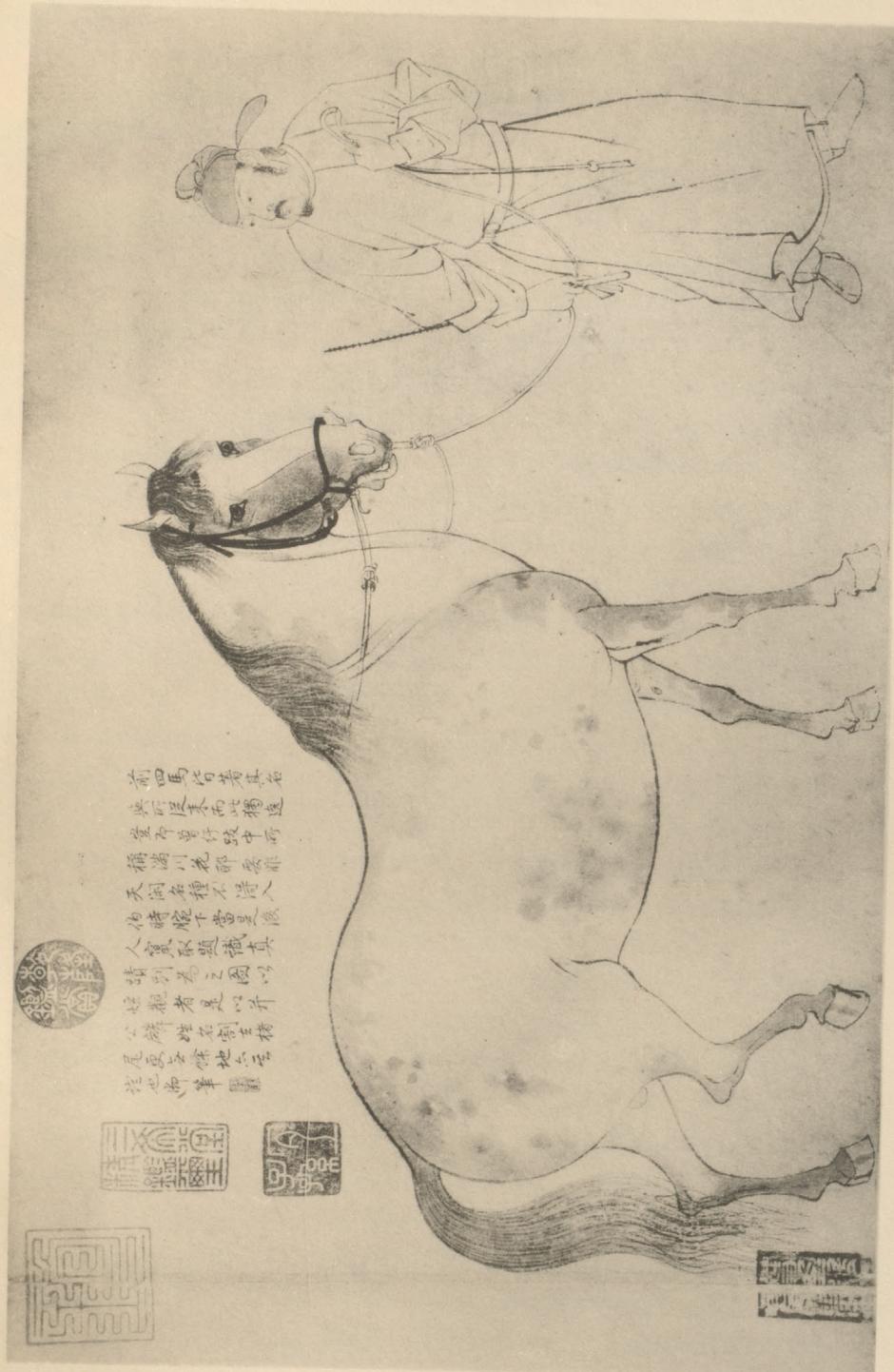
the four characters *Li Po-shih Hua*, which mean "Painted by Li Po-shih." There are a half-seal of the Southern Sung dynasty redactor and two seals of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang. This scroll was formerly in the collection of An I-chou, and is fully described by him in *Mo Yüan Hui Kuan*. It passed through various hands until it came into the possession of P'ang Lai-ch'en, of Shanghai, from whom it was purchased by Mr. Meyer.

There is in the Government Museum, Peking, a scroll by Li Kung-lin called "The Five Horses" (*Wu Ma*). This scroll was highly prized by the Emperor Ch'ien Lung, not only on account of the pictures of the five horses, but also on account of an annotation by one of the artist's famous contemporaries, Huang T'ing-chien (Huang Lu-chih), A.D. 1050-1110. These five horses were presents from tributary states, and the first four had special names taken from the localities where they were bred. The fifth horse had a name given to it by the Emperor Ch'ien Lung, taken from the annotation of Tsêng Yü, also a contemporary of the artist. The first horse in the scroll came from Khotan and was presented to the Emperor Chê Tsung in the first year of his reign. The picture represents a man in the garb of Khotan, leading his horse with a halter. The horse is a piebald, five feet four inches in height, and is called "Phoenix Head" (*Fêng t'ou*). The second horse is led by a Mongol. It has a large black-and-white patch on its shoulder, and from this takes the name of "Brocade" (*Chin-pu*). It is four feet six inches in height. The third horse is led by a native of one of the Indo-Scythian tribes whose features are distinctly non-Chinese. His garments are thrown loosely around the central part of his body, leaving his right shoulder and legs exposed. On his head he wears a turban. The horse is four feet six inches in height, and is called "Baldy" (*Hao-t'ou-ch'ib*). The fourth and fifth horses are of the type of the present Mongol ponies and are led by men who might be either Mongols or Manchus. The five horses are full of life. They have thick necks, large bodies, short thin legs, large tails, and sparse mains. They are all piebald stallions. A. C. Sowerby has described the outstanding features of a "China pony" as (1) large head, (2) short neck, (3) deep chest, (4) long barrel, (5) short leg. This is an exact likeness of the horses in this picture of Li Kung-lin. On the scroll the date of presenta-

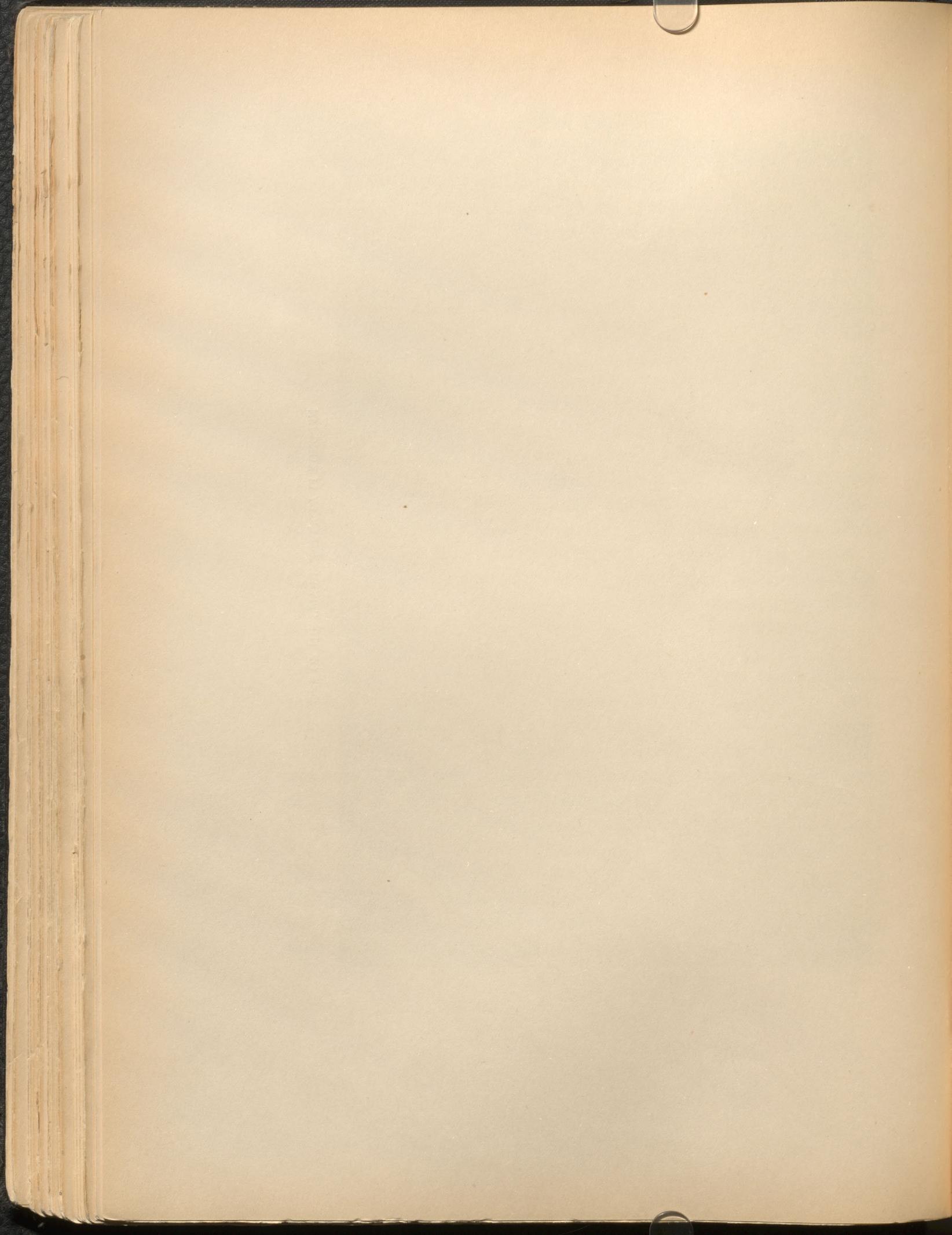
tion of each of the first three horses, its name, age, and height, are written by the artist. In the case of the fourth horse only the date of presentation is recorded, whereas the fifth horse is left without comments by the artist, unless, perchance, the comments have been lost in remounting, for the end of the sheet of paper comes almost immediately behind the tail of the horse, and it is possible that the author's comment on this horse, which is one of the best of the five, has been lost. The scroll is on Ch'êng Hsin-t'ang paper, and the artist has used the same style of black and white (*pai miao*) as was used in the two pictures described in preceding paragraphs.

In the Metropolitan Museum, New York, is a small hanging picture, two feet ten and a half inches in height, one foot two and a half inches in width. I have called this painting "Meditations"; it represents the radical philosopher, Wang An-shih, walking through an avenue of old trees dressed in his ceremonial robes and hat. This picture is fully described in *Ch'ing-bo Shu Hua Fang* and in the *Shih Ku T'ang*, and is also mentioned in the *Hsüan Ho Hua P'u*. It bears the seal of Hui Tsung, and of the first emperor of the Southern Sung dynasty, Kao Tsung, showing that it must have been one of the paintings hastily withdrawn from the palace before the capture of Hui Tsung and his son at K'ai-fêng. This painting is on silk, and the brushwork shows the same virile style as always characterizes the work of this great artist.

There are also two scrolls by this artist in the Metropolitan Museum: one called "The Arhats" or "The Lotus Club" (*Lien Shê*), and the other "The Sixteen Lohans" (*Shih Liu Ying Chén*). The former is on paper and the latter on silk. Both of these scrolls are described in *Ch'ing-bo Shu Hua Fang* and in *Shih Ku T'ang*. "The Arhats" scroll was formerly in the collection of Chang Fêng-i of the Ming dynasty, and has one of his seals. Chang Fêng-i was a noted scholar and the author of a book on painting called *Hai Lui Ming Chia Kung Hua Nêng Ssü*. This scroll painting passed into the collection of Tê Ling (Tê Yen-hsiang), and has two of his seals. It was later acquired by Pi Yüan (A.D. 1729-97). Pi Yüan was a noted antiquarian and wrote a supplement to the "History of Ssü-ma Kuang" which extended from the beginning of the Sung to the end of the Yüan dynasty. His seal



ONE OF THE "FIVE HORSES," BY LI KUNG-LIN



attached to this scroll is inscribed with the four characters of his sobriquet (*Ling Yen Shan Jén*). "The Sixteen Lohans" was formerly in the collection of Wang Shih-chêng of the Ming dynasty. It bears the seals of Li Tsohsien, Chou Liang-kung, Hu Shih-chün, Liu T'ieh-yün, and others. It also has an annotation by Tung Ch'i-ch'ang in which he says that this scroll had been owned by Han Tsung-po and that it had been copied by Ting Yün-pêng. The seals and annotations of these two scrolls are sufficient assurance that during the Ming dynasty both were considered to be genuine works of Li Kung-lin. It is possible that this means nothing more than the fact that these scrolls were in the recognized style of Li Kung-lin, but it may also mean that they were considered during the Ming dynasty to have been actually painted by this artist. Whichever of these two views is adopted, both scrolls are painted in a style worthy of any great artist.

In the annotation of the Emperor Ch'ien Lung attached to the scroll "Admonitions" by Ku K'ai-chih, he states that in his collection there were three scrolls by Li Kung-lin which he joined to the "Admonitions" scroll in his list of "The Four Beautiful Objects" (*Ssü Mei Chü*). These three scrolls were "A River in Shu," "The Nine Songs," and "The Hsiao and Hsiang." Of these three scrolls I have seen two, viz., "The Nine Songs" and "The Hsiao and Hsiang," both of which deserve all the praise which the Emperor bestowed upon them. In addition to those already noticed, *Shih Ku T'ang* mentions the following pictures by this artist: "Illustrations of Filial Piety with Annotations" (*Hsiao Ching T'u Ping T'i*), "The Three Worthies of the Kingdom of Wu" (*Wu Chung San Hsien*), "Portraits of the Han Emperor Kao Tsu and Five Others" (*Han Kao T'eng Liu*), "Portrait of the Buddhist Deity Hua Yen" (*Hua Yen Pien Hsiang*), "Portrait of Vimalakirtti" (*Wei Mo Ching Hsiang*), "Reproduction of the Wang Ch'uan Villa by Wang Wei" (*Ling Wang Mo-chieh Wang Ch'uan*), "The Three Religions" (*San Chiao*), "The Mountain Village" (*Shan Chuang*), "Yang Kuei-fei Returning Drunken from Yao-t'ai" (*Yang T'ai Chén Yao T'ai Tsui Kuei*), "Illustrations of and Comments upon Emperors and Statesmen" (*Chün Ch'en Ku Shih T'u Ping Shu*), "Kuo Tzü-i Dismounting" (*Kuo Tzü-i Tan Ch'i Hsiang Lu*), "The Yang Pass" (*Yang Kuan*), "Ceremonial Visit of a Bar-

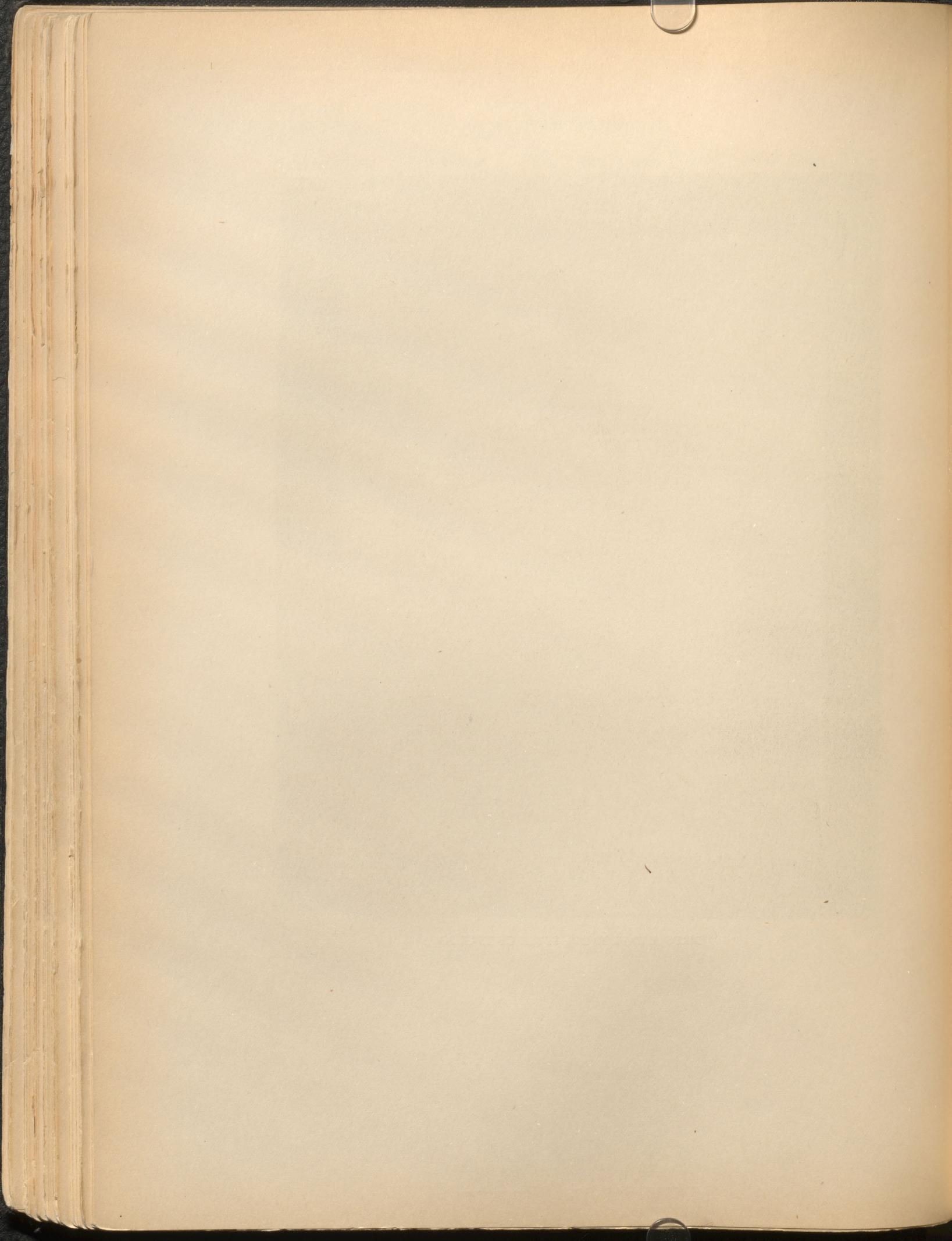
barian King" (*Fan Wang Li Fu*), "The Three Horses" (*San Ma*), "The Portrait of the Fairy of Ku-shê Mountain" [Ku-shê Mountain is in Ling-fên county, Shansi Province (*Ku-shê Hsien Hsiang*)], "The Lohans" (*Lo-han T'u*), "Liu Shang Watching Chess" (*Liu Shang Kuan Ch'i*), "A Picture of Ch'ih Pei" in Hupeh Province where Liu Pei won his famous victory] (*Ch'ih Pei T'u*), "The Preaching of Vimalakirtti" (*Wei Mo Yen Chiao*). This long list shows the versatility of Li Kung-lin. He roamed through historical and religious subjects with great freedom. Two of the subjects of his painting confirm statements made in the preceding chapter concerning the veneration in succeeding generations of the great T'ang general, Kuo Tzü-i, and concerning the high artistic importance of the work of Liu Shang. The paintings of Li Kung-lin, varied as they are, form a most illustrious epoch in the long history of pictorial art in China.

The dynasty also produced great painters of flowers and birds (*hua niao*). One of the earliest was Chao Ch'ang, who was a contemporary of the noted landscapists during the first decades of the Northern Sung. The *Hsüan Ho Hua P'u* says that he was a native of Kuang-han, in Ssü-ch'uan Province, but *Hua Shih Hui Chuan* says that this was an error and that Chao Ch'ang was born in Chien-nan of the same province. I have seen several album pictures but no hanging ones or scrolls attributed to him. In a Sung-Yüan album in the Metropolitan Museum the ninth picture is attributed to this artist, and I have also seen his work in an album in the Government Museum. He was an exquisite colorist, and was also skilful in composition. He has been the ideal of all subsequent painters of flowers, but *Ch'ing-ho Shu Hua Fang*, *Shih Ku T'ang*, and *Mo Yuan Hui Kuan* make no mention of his paintings, thus proving that they had not been seen by the authors of these standard works.

Ts'ui Po, a native of Hao-liang (modern Fêng-yang), in Anhui Province, was appointed expositor of art (*i hsüeh*) during the reign of Jên Tsung (A.D. 1022-63). His painting of birds and flowers was of such high excellence that the Academy of Painting decided to use it as a model instead of that of Huang Ch'üan. With him was associated another good painter, Wu Yüan-yü, one of whose works is recorded in *Yün Yen Kuo Yen Lu*. Ts'ui Po



BIRDS AND FLOWERS, STYLE OF TS'UI PO



painted on a coarse silk which he prepared carefully so that it would produce the best effects of coloring. Frequently he covered the blank spaces of his silk with blue so as to bring out in bold relief the contrast with the color of his flowers. His paintings were true to nature (*hsieh sêng*), and were free from conventionalism. I have seen a scroll attributed to Ts'ui Po, which has annotations by Chao Jung, Lu Hsing-chih, Ni Tsan, and Sung K'o. This scroll was in the collection of Huang Hsüeh-pu. It is unquestionably in the style of Ts'ui Po, though probably the work of an academician of the Southern Sung dynasty. The coloring of the flowers and fruits in this scroll is both bold and delicate. *Shih Ku T'ang* records only two paintings by this artist, and their present location, if indeed they are extant, is unknown. This artist must not be confused with another man of the same name, Ts'ui Po of the Southern Sung dynasty, who was a famous artist in the production of tapestry (*k'o ssü*). A specimen of the tapestry woven by the latter Ts'ui Po was exhibited in Central Park, Peking, May, 1923, and a similar specimen is in the Metropolitan Museum, New York.

I Yüan-chi, a native of Ch'ang-sha, Hunan Province, lived in the middle of the eleventh century. He was stimulated by the success of Chao Ch'ang to attempt original work by making a special feature of the painting of monkeys and gibbons as adjuncts to his painting of birds and flowers. His picture, "The Hundred Gibbons" (*Pai Yüan*), is his most famous work, and is now preserved in the Government Museum, Peking. In the Metropolitan Museum, New York, is a scroll "Plumage and Fur amid Flowers" (*Hua Hui Ling Mao*), painted on silk, which is twelve and a half inches in height, and eight feet five inches in length. This was formerly in the collection of Shih Ming-ku of the Ming dynasty and bears three of his seals, viz., Ming-ku Chên Wan, Ming-ku Chên Ts'ang, and Shih Shih Yüeh Chien T'ang Ts'ang. It also bears two seals of Chou Mi, author of *Yün Yen Kuo Yen Lu*. In composition, in delicacy of brushwork, in brilliant color, this scroll is worthy of being classed as a masterpiece. In the Freer Gallery there is a hanging picture called "Captive Monkey," also attributed to this artist. It possesses all the merits which I have ascribed to the scroll "Plumage and Fur amid Flowers." I Yüan-chi was a close student of nature and

spent much time in wandering through groves and over hills, observing the habits of birds and animals.

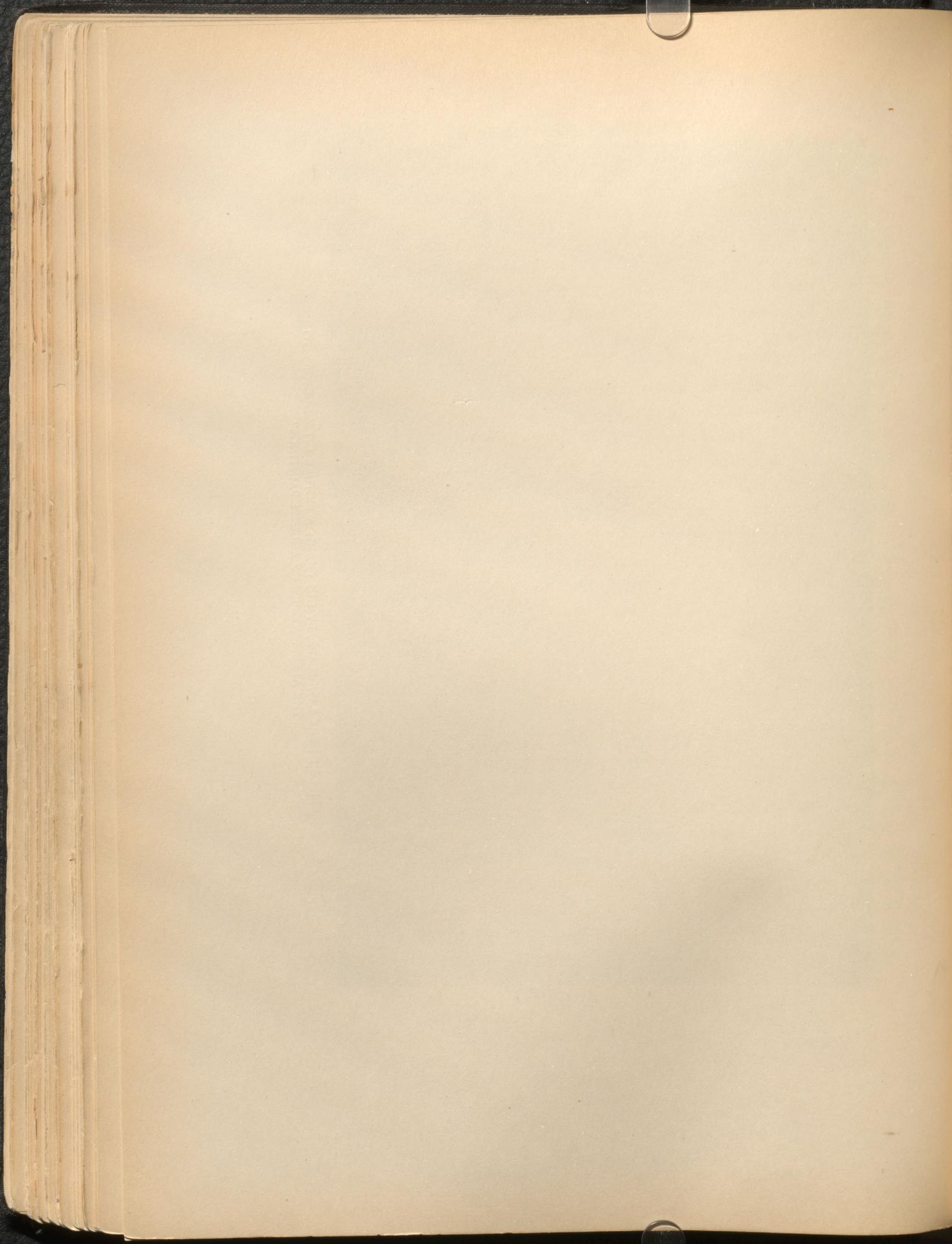
Ai Hsüan, who was a native of Chin-ling (modern Nanking), came into prominence during the reign of the Emperor Shēn Tsung (1068-86). He was also influenced to a large extent by the career of Chao Ch'ang, and adopted the same course as I Yüan-chi in developing new subjects for painting. He depicted birds amid the falling leaves and harvested fields of autumn. Among birds he specialized in painting quails, and there is a scroll by him called "Quails" (*Yen Shun*). This scroll came from the collection of Ts'ai Lu-ping, of Shih-mén. It has a gourd-shaped seal of the household department of the Northern Sung dynasty, which is evidence of the contemporaneous popularity of his work. In several of his poems Sū Shih (Su T'ung-p'o) praises the artistic productions of Ai Hsüan, and it has been chiefly this praise on the part of the great poet which has rescued this artist from oblivion. None of the great Ming dynasty writers even mentions his name.

The Emperor Hui Tsung is the last of the painters to be mentioned in the Northern Sung dynasty. He has been given credit for being a great painter of birds and flowers, but whether the paintings attributed to him are really the product of his own brush, or the work of members of the Academy of Painting which the emperor so freely patronized, is a question which probably will always remain open for discussion. The reign of this emperor was so clouded with corruption and calamity that it is not easy to form a decisive judgment as to any events which occurred in the palace outside of those which had political significance. The emperor was completely in the hands of the corrupt statesman, Ts'ai Ching, and later of the eunuch, T'ung Kuan. Under the influence of Ts'ai Ching, Chu Mien was appointed to gather in from the provinces all valuable objects such as bronzes, jades, writings, paintings, stone inscriptions, and all kinds of artistic objects which might please the emperor. Chu Mien carried out his work so successfully that, as a contemporary historian records, the roads leading to K'ai-fēng were crowded with carts and the Huai River with boats, all carrying valuable tribute to the capital. The emperor was not his own



BIRDS IN THE LANDSCAPE, BY HUI TSUNG. A PICTURE INTRODUCTORY TO
THE ALBUM "COPIES OF ANCIENT PAINTINGS"

古先聖王受命應筭刑有龍圖呈
寶龜守効靈故畫與六籍同功四
序並運發于天然非由述作吾少
嘗潛心師古御寫以來不能忘意
探討偶乘暇日索素繙寄興意欲
取昔人之高妙昔各画一小景以
示具眼者商確是否遂先作秋塘
野鷺以見吾之所長



master at any period of his reign, and finally having been betrayed, was carried off by the Nü-chêns Tartars into captivity, and died in poverty and disgrace.

Hui Tsung must have been deeply interested in all forms of art; otherwise his designing ministers would not have chosen artistic objects as presents to please his fancy. He himself was a dilettante. The Academy of Painting founded in his capital gathered about itself a large group of painters who still felt the influence of the great masters who immediately preceded them. The emperor and his ministers encouraged the Academy in every way, even to the extent of the emperor, in all probability, allowing his own name to be attached to the best paintings produced by the academicians. The Academy was also responsible for the adoption of the monogram *T'ien Hsia I Jén*. This is a high-sounding phrase which refers to the unrivaled position of the emperor as the primate of all under heaven. Beautiful seals carefully engraved were prepared for the emperor and attached, not only to paintings attributed to him, but also to many which were brought together in his collection.

Many small album pictures are attributed to Hui Tsung, and doubtless a large proportion of those that are included in careful collections were produced during the Hui Tsung period, but they were painted in the Academy, not by the emperor himself. In the Metropolitan Museum, New York, there is a scroll, "Instruction" (*Hsün Ch'u*), which formerly belonged to the princely collection in Hai Kung Fu, Peking. It represents the Emperor Ming Huang of the T'ang dynasty instructing his son, who stands by his side, hesitating to take the books handed to him by his father. An armed attendant stands near watching the scene. The picture is full of life and delicately colored. Originally there was an annotation written by Chao Mêng-fu, and this was still attached to the scroll at the beginning of the Manchu dynasty, according to the statement of *Shih Ku T'ang*. This annotation has been copied by Fêng En-kun, one of the best modern writers of the Chao style. On the scroll are the double-dragon gourd-shaped seal, two imperial Sung seals, the monogram of the Emperor Hui Tsung, and a seal *Hsüan Wén Ko*, of K'o Chiu-ssü of the Yüan dynasty. One of the valuable

parts of this scroll is the heading which is said to have been written by the emperor in thin gold script (*sou chin*). In this heading the emperor states that this scroll is a reproduction of a T'ang dynasty original, the work and colors of which he greatly admired.

Taken as a whole, the Northern Sung period of painting was of equal importance with the T'ang dynasty. In landscape painting it fixed the standards for all succeeding painters, and this is equally true in the painting of flowers, birds, and animals. In one department alone, viz., that of the painting of figures, does the T'ang dynasty retain an unquestioned supremacy, disputed only by one artist of this dynasty, Li Kung-lin. This branch demanded a larger degree of freedom than was possible in the atmosphere of the Northern Sung so heavily laden with the mustiness of scholarly traditions.

The Northern Sung dynasty was driven from its capital at K'ai-fêng, and after several years of migration settled at Hangchow. The pursuit of personal pleasures by the emperors, the domination of corrupt ministers, the influence of eunuchs upon court life, and the lack of discipline in the army brought about the downfall of the dynasty. The Tartar tribes that pressed in upon it from the north were stronger and better trained. They had also the stimulus of being able to pillage wealthy cities. Against their incursions, the pleasure-loving, artistically inclined Emperor Hui Tsung could offer no effective resistance.

IX

PAINTERS OF THE SOUTHERN SUNG DYNASTY

AT THE time when the last two emperors of the Northern Sung dynasty were carried into captivity (A.D. 1127), K'ang Wang, the ninth son of the Emperor Hui Tsung, was in Nanking. Through the combined influence of the surviving widow of the Emperor Chê Tsung and Chang Pang-ch'ang, whom the Chin Tartars had placed upon the throne, this ninth son of Hui Tsung was chosen as emperor. He is known in history as Kao Tsung. He had no more liking for war than his dissolute father, and was inordinately fond of pleasure and ease. During the first year of his reign a peace was patched up with the Tartars under which the three districts of T'ai-yüan, Chung-shan, and Ho-chien were cut off from the empire. The new emperor wandered from place to place, going once as far north as Chi-chou in Shantung Province, residing for more than a year in Yangchow, and finally resolving in the third year of his reign to establish his capital at Hangchow. After this decision was made the emperor continued to wander from place to place for several years until in 1139 peace was sufficiently restored to allow him to take up his residence in the new palaces at Hangchow. The establishment of this new capital did not bring peace to the country; it only provided a safe halting place for the pleasure-loving emperors to pass a few score insecure years. The Chin dynasty of Nü-chên Tartars held sway in practically all of the country north of the Yangtse River, and was a constant threat to the Southern Sung dynasty at Hangchow.

As in the Northern Sung dynasty, so in the Southern Sung, landscape painting held the premier place and commanded the talents of the best artists. Among these were several who were rightly classed among the great masters, such as Li T'ang, the two Chao brothers, Chao Po-chü and Chao Po-su, Ma Ho-chih, Ma Yüan, Hsia Kuei, and Liu Sung-nien. These

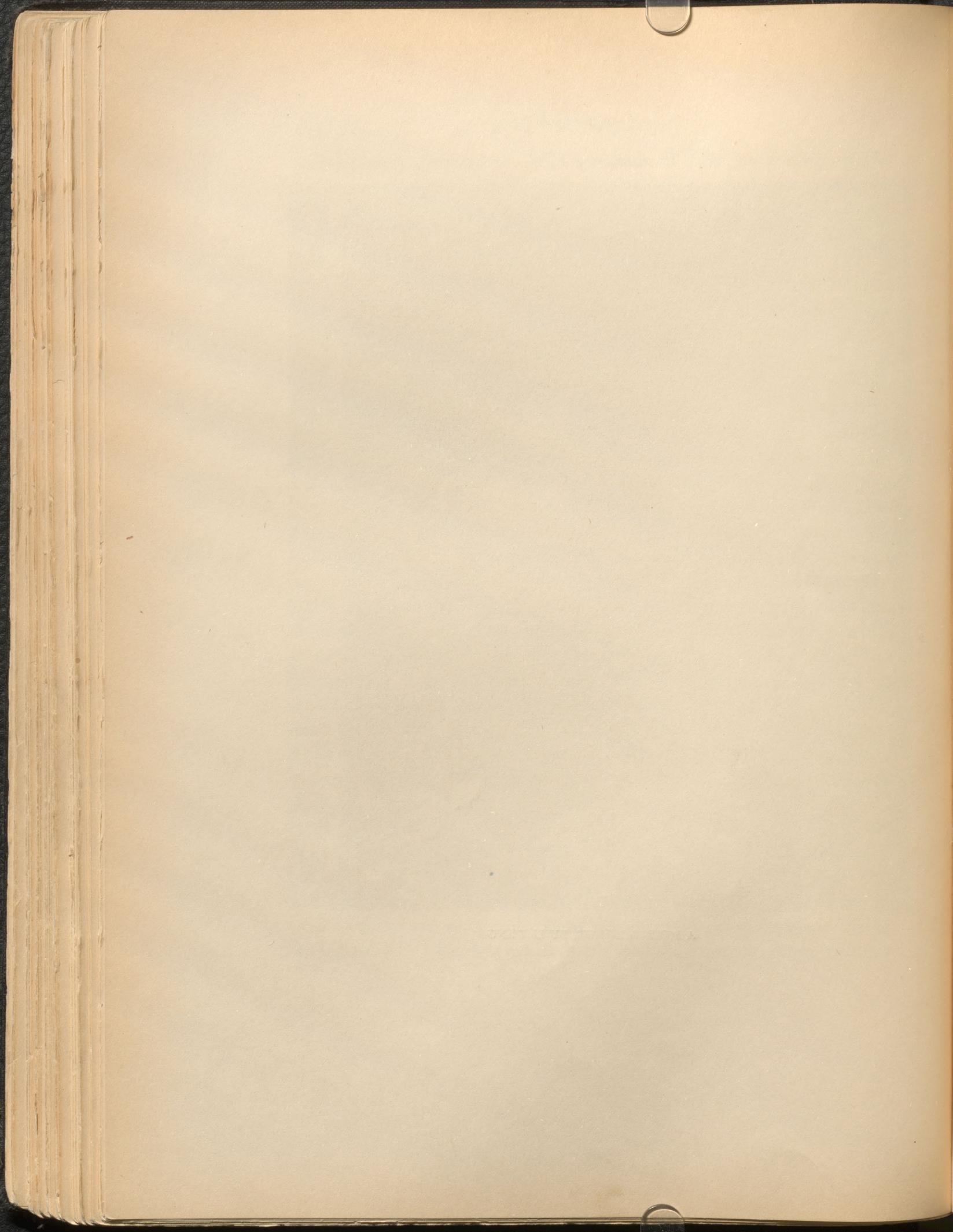
landscapists maintained the high standards of their predecessors of the former dynasty, but their work shows the increasing influence of conventions. No artist contributed during this time anything new; all were content to follow in the style of earlier masters. The Southern Sung dynasty must be considered a period of development in painting along established lines; it can lay no claim to leadership. Many of its artists attained to a high state of excellence, but it was the excellence of conformity, not of creative genius.

Li T'ang is a connecting link between the Northern and Southern Sung dynasties. He held an important position in the Academy of Painting under the Emperor Hui Tsung, but his most important work was done during the reign of the Southern Sung Emperor, Kao Tsung, under whose patronage he continued to paint until he was eighty years of age. There were several other artists who joined the court at Hangchow after having been members of the Northern Sung Academy of Painting, such as Chu T'un-ju, Su Han-ch'en, Pi Liang-shih, Chiang Ts'an (Chiang Kuan-tao), but none of them attained to the same eminence as Li T'ang. The Emperor compared Li T'ang to T'ang Li, i.e., Li Ssü-hsün of the T'ang dynasty. His specialty was the combination of figure painting with landscape. His figures were as carefully drawn as if they were to stand alone, and his landscapes were as perfect as if there were no figures in them. His most famous picture is in the Government Museum, Peking. It is called "The Return of Chin Wên Kung" (*Chin Wên Kung Fu Kuo*). Chin Wên Kung was one of the five famous feudal kings (*Wu Pa*), of the seventh century B.C. In a lecture delivered at Hongkong in March, 1873, James Legge gave an account of his life, and this lecture was reproduced in the *China Review* (I, 370). Chin Wên Kung (Ch'ung Er) was the second of three sons of Duke Hsien who controlled the principality of Chin from 676-51 B.C. In 671 Duke Hsien subjugated the wild tribe, Li Jung, and brought back with him a beautiful young lady who was the daughter of the chief of the tribe. After a son was born to her, she plotted against the three older sons, the oldest of whom was driven to commit suicide. Chin Wên Kung was at that time in charge of a place called P'u, and when at the instigation of the young wife his

宋李唐字晞古河陽三城人善畫山水人物筆意不凡
高宗時授畫院待詔賜金帶時年近六十嘗題其畫
卷云李唐可比唐李思訓見圖繪寶鑑



A MOUNTAIN HUT, BY LI T'ANG



father sent an expedition against him so that he might be killed, he ran away, saying that he would not fight against his own father. He remained with a distant northern tribe for nineteen years until after the death of his father when he returned to Ch'i and joined the powerful Duke Huan. The painting of Li T'ang describes his dramatic return. It is delicately colored, and the figures in it are full of life. This artist, according to *Shih Ku T'ang*, also painted two other pictures which had historical or traditional subjects. One of these was "The Fern Garden of Po I" (*Po I Shu Ch'i Ts'ai Wei*). Po I in the twelfth century B.C. was a prince in a small kingdom now in the province of Chihli. His father desired to make a younger brother, Shu Ch'i, his successor, but Shu Ch'i refused, insisting that the principality be given to the elder son. When the father died Shu Ch'i fled into the mountains whither he was followed by his brother Po I. In lonely retirement they cultivated together a garden of ferns. The subject of this picture was especially adapted to the genius of Li T'ang. Another painting was "The Three Laughs at Hu Hsi" (*Hu Hsi San Hsiao*). This refers to the well-known incident of a visit paid by T'ao Yüan-ming to the priest Hui Yüan, who lived in the Tung-ling Temple on the Lü Mountains in Kiangsi. It was the custom of the priest never to accompany his guests beyond a bridge which crossed the small stream called Hu Hsi. On the occasion of the visit of T'ao Yüan-ming, the priest became so engrossed in conversation with his distinguished guest that he forgot himself and wandered across the bridge to the other side of the stream. Suddenly a tiger which was crouching near the path roared, bringing both men to realize how far they had gone, whereupon they laughed heartily. The wild mountain scenery with its dashing torrent and a tiger hiding under the trees, together with the two noted figures, provided the kind of subject especially agreeable to this artist.

In the collection of Mr. Charles Deering, Chicago, there is a painting by Li T'ang of the O Pang Palace. It is three feet eight inches high, and one foot eight and a half inches wide. It was formerly in the collection of the famous littérateur, Li Chia-fu. The palace in this picture is an adornment to the landscape, and the landscape is a beautiful setting to the palace. The

painting of the palace, like that of Chou Wên-chü, mentioned in chapter viii, is in the style of measured paintings (*chieh hua*), and is most carefully done.

Su Han-ch'êñ was a member of the Academy of Painting under the Emperor Hui Tsung of the Northern Sung dynasty, and was one of the group of artists who joined the Southern Sung dynasty at Hangchow, where his chief work was accomplished. He had diversified talents. The *Hua Chien* places him as a painter of women in the same class as Chou Fang and Chang Hsüan of the T'ang dynasty, and Chou Wên-chü of the Northern Sung, but this is higher praise than the artist deserves. He was also a mural painter, and, together with Hsiao Chao, painted the walls of the Wu Shêng Temple near Hangchow. His chief work was, however, the painting of genre pictures such as "Children at Play" (*Ying Erh Hsi*), "Toy Peddler" (*Ho Lang*), "Children Fighting Crickets" (*Ying Erh Tou Hsi Shuai*), and "The Fight between the Kingfisher and the Oyster" (*Yü P'an T'u*). The last-mentioned subject refers to the well-known phrase that when the kingfisher and the oyster struggle, the fisherman gets the benefit, which is commonly used as an illustration of the advantage which neutrals obtain when two parties contend. On account of the popular character of his subjects, the paintings of Su Han-ch'êñ have been reproduced and copied by many artists. Hsieh Shêñ, who was a member of the Academy of Painting during the Ching Ting period (1260-65) of the Emperor Li Tsung, flourished about one hundred years after Su Han-ch'êñ. He was also a painter of genre pictures, and his style followed closely that of Su Han-ch'êñ. His best-known painting is an album with various scenes in the daily life of a toy peddler (*Ho Lang*).

Chao Po-chü (Chao Ch'ien-li) was a favorite of the Emperor Kao Tsung. His style of painting had, perhaps, a greater influence on later painters than that of any other artist of this dynasty. In the Metropolitan Museum, New York, is a painting, "The Orchid Pavilion" (*Lan Ting Hsiu Chieh*), one foot three and three-quarters inches in height, and one foot in width. The outer label, which was originally attached to this painting, was written by Sun Ch'êng-tsê (T'u-i-ang), author of *Kêng Tzú Hsiao Hsia Chi*.

The picture is signed by the artist as an officer of the government (*ch'én*), and states that he painted it under imperial orders. This picture came from the collection of Liang Chang-chü who was five times governor of Kiangsu Province during the reigns of Chia Ch'ing and Tao Kuang at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and whose *Catalogue of Paintings*, published by the British Museum, has already been referred to in a previous chapter. There are two seals of Governor Liang on the painting, viz., Chü Ling Shên Ting and Ch'ang Lo Liang Shih. The scene is one which has been painted by many artists—a restful pavilion by the side of a mountain stream, surrounded by orchids. There are two annotations written during the Ming dynasty: one by Chu Yün-ming and the other by the noted artist T'ang Yin. Chu's annotation narrates the historical scene during the ninth year of the reign of the Emperor Mu of the Eastern Chin dynasty (A.D. 353), when a group of scholars gathered at Lan-t'ing in eastern Chekiang. The leading spirit of this gathering was Wang Hsi-chih, and there he wrote the manuscript which has ever since been known as "The Lan-t'ing Manuscript," and which is the most famous specimen of Chinese calligraphy. On this painting are three seals of the Emperor Kao Tsung: one a gourd-shaped seal with the two characters *Mi Fu*, the second a circular seal with the first of the Eight Diagrams on it, and the third with the four characters *Yü Fu T'u Shu*. The coloring of this painting is restrained but brilliant. Delicate shades of green in his landscapes are characteristic of the work of this artist.

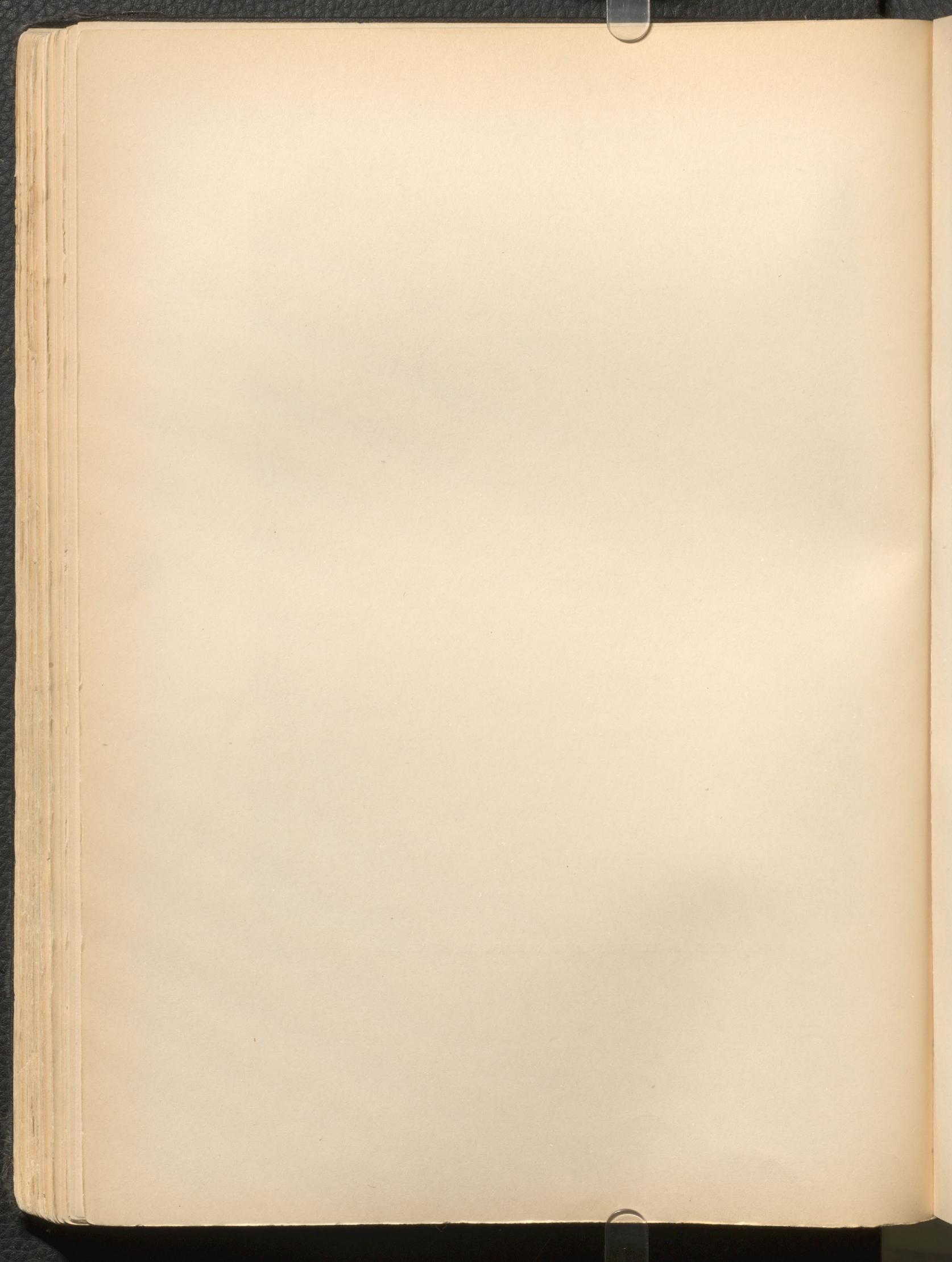
Chao Po-su was a brother of Chao Po-chü; some authorities, such as the *Ni Ku Lu*, claim that he was an elder brother, while others state that he was a younger brother. The two brothers at first painted in the style of Li Ssü-hsün of the Northern School, but later were eclectics. I have seen only one specimen of the work of Chao Po-su. It is a scroll on silk called "Turrets in the Five-colored Clouds" (*Wu Yün Lou Ko*). The subject of the painting is color effects on the Lü Mountains after a storm when a rainbow stretched down over the hills and the turrets of the temples could be seen. The Lü Mountains, on which the modern summer resort, Kuling, is located, were favorite themes for poets and artists. This scroll is signed by the artist

with the statement that it was painted under the instructions of the emperor. The first annotation is by Ch'ien Liang-yu, a noted littérateur of the Yüan dynasty, and author of the "Chiang Ts'un Collection of Essays." This annotation is dated the twenty-seventh day of the eighth month of the cyclical year Ping-shên (A.D. 1356), of the Emperor Chih Chêng of the Yüan dynasty. There is also an important annotation by Sung K'o of the Ming dynasty, and another by Chu Fu, a noted writer of the Ch'ien Lung period, who was also a landscape painter. This scroll fills the beholder with the sensuous delight of brilliant coloring and charming composition. Neither this nor the one of his brother, described in the preceding paragraph, deserves to be classed as an example of the best grade of Chinese landscapes; they must be classed as good specimens of refined workmanship.

Ma Ho-chih was a favorite of the court during the reign of Kao Tsung. The emperor wrote for him the text of the three hundred and sixty odes known as "The Odes of Mao" (*Mao Shih*). The text of these odes is believed to be the original one delivered by Confucius to Pu Shang. The scrolls illustrating these odes are in the Government Museum, Peking. I have frequently seen the scroll which contains "The Ten Odes of the Kingdom of Ch'èn." In this scroll an explanation of each ode is followed by a picture illustrating it. The first ode called *Yüan Chiu* represents a dance. Four musicians are seated on a mat: two are blowing wind instruments, one beating a drum, and one an earthen vessel; behind them stand four figures, each holding a streamer made of egret feathers. At the side of the two dancers are two attendants with cymbals. From the posture of the dancers it appears that they are in a high state of hilarity. The second ode is called "The White Elms at the East Gate" (*Tung Mén Chih Fén*), and represents a woman dancing in the market place under two trees at the side of a well. The third ode (*Héng Mén*) represents a man sitting on a mat under a roof supported by untrimmed timbers. In front of the place where the figure is seated is a small stream over which is a flagstone bridge leading to a closed gate. The fourth subject is "The Moat at the East Gate" (*Tung Mén Chih Ch'ih*). The beautiful lady who is the heroine of these "Ten Odes" is depicted kneeling at the side of the stream, washing clothes on a stone. The fifth scene depicts the luxurious



TRAVELING, AN ILLUSTRATION FROM MAO SHIH, BY MA HO-CHIH



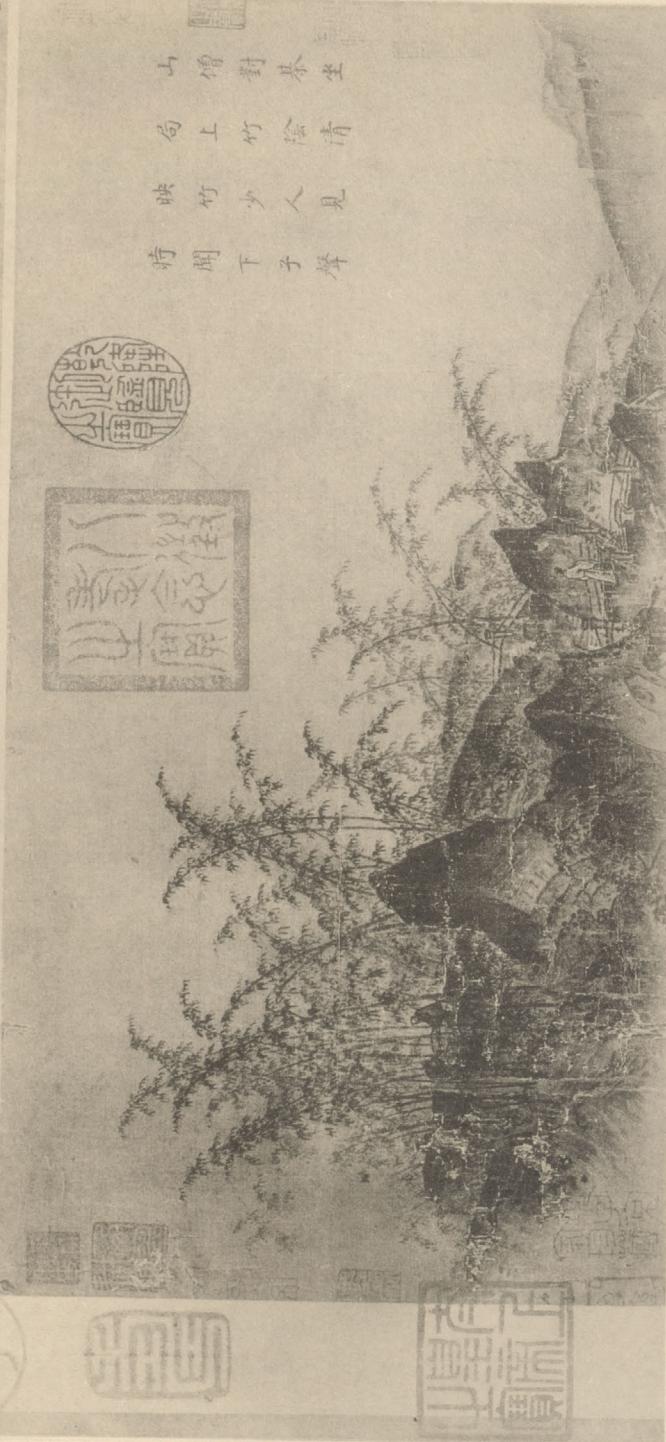
willows inside the eastern gate. Under the willows is a small group of five persons. The city gate is sketched with a few rapid strokes, but with great strength of brushwork. The sixth ode is called "The Gate to the Tombs" (*Mo Mén*). This is purely suggestive, and the only things seen in the picture are four jujube trees in which each leaf is done with a single brush stroke. The seventh scene is "The Magpies' Nests" (*Ch'iao Ts'ao*). This is a weird scene. In a gnarled tree a magpie hovers over a nest. Some magpies are seen in the branches, and others are flying toward the tree. The eighth ode is called "The New Moon" (*Chiao Yüeh*). The heroine stands in a pavilion built above the roofs of the surrounding houses. She points with one hand to the moon above her. In the landscape only the tops of the trees can be dimly seen. The ninth ode is called *Chu Ling*, and represents the hero in his chariot drawn by a pair of spirited horses and accompanied by a retinue of mounted men. He is on his way toward the beautiful lady. In the tenth ode, which is called *Tsēh P'o*, the hero is lying in a pavilion with a thatched roof, supporting his head upon his right arm. Here he is surrounded by a marsh in which there are rushes and lotus plants; while waking or sleeping he weeps for his beloved. These odes describe the dissipation and pleasure-seeking of the officers of this small kingdom of Ch'en, which was situated in the southeast corner of the present province of Honan. Against the carefree pleasures of the young people the contentment and happiness of a poor recluse are placed in contrast. Notwithstanding the example set him by the recluse, a man hurries to his own ruin in an intrigue with a beautiful woman. The comments of the emperor bring out in full detail encouragement to virtue and warning against evil-doing. This didactic scroll is only one of many which depict other historical scenes narrated in the "Odes of Mao," but from the detailed description of one the scenes of the other scrolls may be easily imagined. Attached to this scroll of Ma Ho-chih is an annotation by Tung Ch'i-ch'ang in which the relation of the artist to the Emperor Kao Tsung is fully described. The work of Ma Ho-chih in illustrating the life narrated in the early folk-songs of China is of very great importance, and is similar to that of the Florentine school in depicting scenes from the scriptures.

Ma Yüan flourished during the first half of the thirteenth century in the reigns of the Emperors Ning Tsung and Li Tsung. He was the son of Ma Hsing-tsu, grandson of Ma Pêñ, both of whom were known in their own generations as good painters. Ma Yüan was appointed to the Imperial Academy of Painting, and his work evidences the restraint placed upon him by academy conventions, while at the same time it shows that he was always struggling to be free. One cannot escape the feeling, while seeing examples of his work, that if Ma Yüan had enjoyed the same privileges of freedom as the great masters in the early part of the Northern Sung dynasty, he would have equaled the best of them in the quality of his work. Circumstances were against him, and the most that can now be said in praise of his work is that in landscape painting he was the greatest of the academicians of the Southern Sung dynasty. In a laudatory "Monograph on a Masterpiece of Chinese Painting in the Smithsonian Institution (Freer Collection)," Laurence Binyon classes Ma Yüan as "one of the most renowned painters of that wonderful Sung era which lasted from the tenth to the thirteenth century." It is true that his name is coupled with those of the masters of the Northern Sung, but in point of time, as also in influence, his name stands almost at the end of this list. In the students' albums prepared by great artists of the Ming and Manchu dynasties, one does not find Ma Yüan, for he created no style of his own, but was content to work in that of his predecessors. Indeed, the only peculiarity of his work is that from which he obtained the nickname of "The One-cornered Ma" (*Ma I-chio*). This was his habit of putting in at one corner of his picture the trunk or branches of an old pine tree.

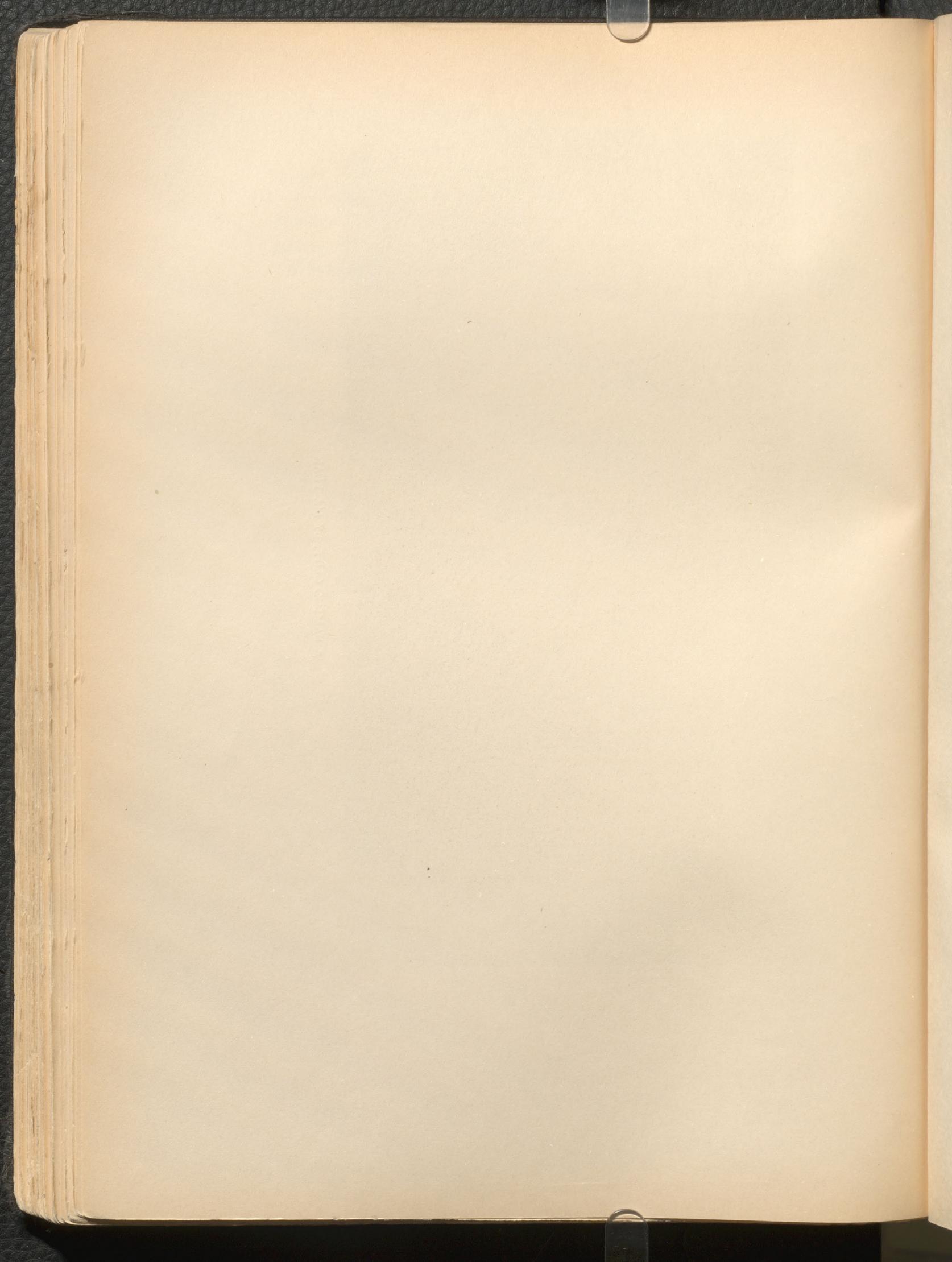
The Freer scroll, described by Binyon, presents Ma Yüan as a great academician; in it are gathered all the strength and all the foibles of academy paintings. Notwithstanding its excellence, this scroll does not represent the native genius of Ma Yüan as well as it is illustrated by either one of two pictures exhibited by Mr. Freer in 1917 at the Art Institute of Chicago. One of these was called in the catalogue "Mountain Scenery," though the name inscribed on it is "Asking for the Way" (*Wén Tao T'u*). The other was a landscape showing rocky hills, pine trees, and a pavilion. These two pic-

宋馬遠
河中人
工畫遠山
自家畫人物
傳得妙院
禽獸花果
獨步也光
朝畫詔
見圖繪
寶鑑

山僧對棋坐
局上竹陰清
映竹少人見
竹閣下子聲



A BAMBOO CLIFF, BY MA YÜAN]



tures show Ma Yüan attempting to rid himself of the trammels of conventionalism and to prove himself master of a style largely of his own creation.

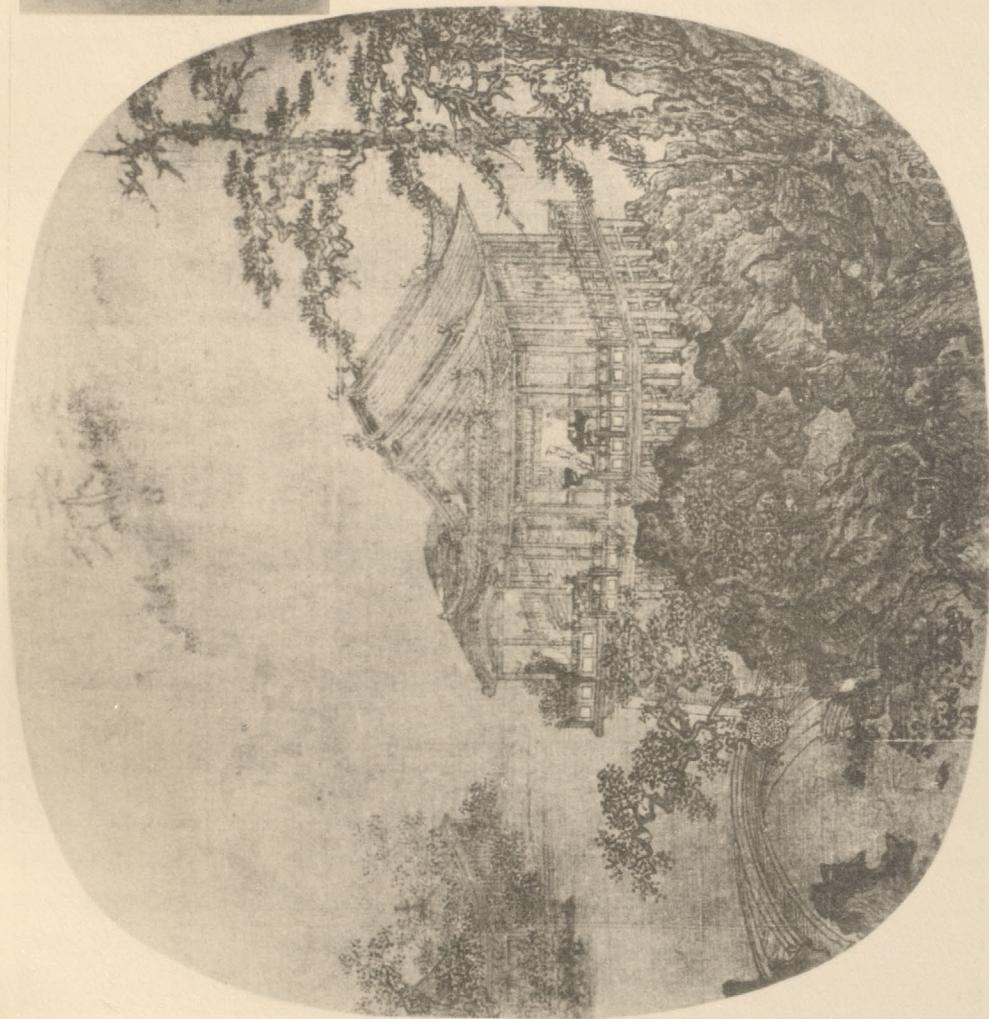
A good example of Ma Yüan's work was the large painting, "Listening to a Fountain" (*Sung Ch'üan T'u*), owned by Mr. Edgar Gorer, which unfortunately went down with him in the "Lusitania" disaster in which this great collector of Chinese porcelains was drowned. This painting bore the signature of the artist and came from the collection of Prince Ch'êng, the eleventh son of the Emperor Ch'ien Lung. It had two seals of Hsiang Yüan-pien, viz., *Tzü Ching Fu Yin* and *Hsiang Mo-ling Fu Mi Chi Chih Yin*. This was one of the best specimens of the work of Ma Yüan which I have ever seen. In this painting a traveler over a mountain road has halted his mule cart to listen to the waters rushing down the valley from a fountain under the pine trees. At the left are seen a man and his servant climbing the steps which lead to a mountain retreat. A mist rises from the valley and almost obscures the distant hills. A scroll by Ma Yüan bearing this same name is recorded in *Shih Ku T'ang* where it is fully described. It had five ancient pines in the midst of which stood an elderly scholar accompanied by a youth carrying the equipment of a painter. Another large picture by this artist, "Searching for Truth" or "Searching for a Hermit" (*Chung Shan Chao Yin*), depicts two philosophers who are sitting at a stone table under pine trees on a summer evening. Behind them stands a servant with a large fan with which he is trying to keep them cool. Inside a pavilion a servant is preparing food. On the road another philosopher, attended by a servant carrying his master's harp, moves along slowly to join his friends and spend the long summer evening in literary discussion. Behind the pavilion a bridge crosses over the rapid mountain stream to other houses in front of which rise abruptly bold cliffs half covered with mists. These descriptions of various paintings by Ma Yüan are sufficient to indicate the characteristics of his style. The landscapes which he painted were those of the country surrounding Hangchow where he lived.

Ma K'uei painted in the same style as his brother Ma Yüan. I have seen a scroll by this artist painted on silk. It is called *Mao Tieh* which literally

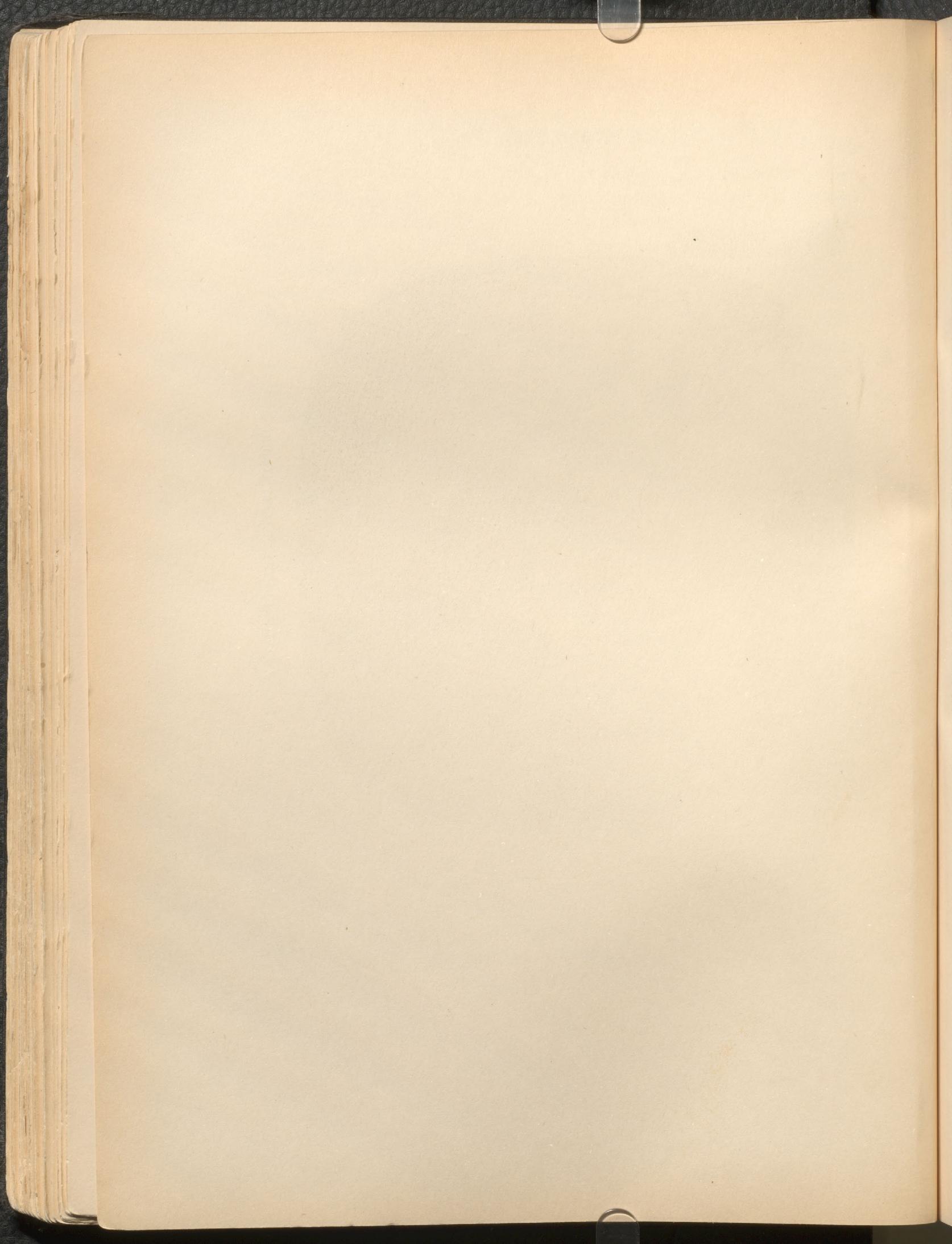
means "octogenarian," but characters of similar sound mean "cats and butterflies." This method of using phonetic tropes is very common in the Chinese language, and was intended in this instance to add dignity to the work of the artist. Kittens playing around bushes and flowers over which butterflies are hovering form a playful study. The charm of this picture is in the mellow color and the intimate treatment of flower and plant life. The masterly arrangement of the numerous groups of entirely different subjects on undulating ground which form a relief to the main subject, cats and butterflies, is manifest as the picture is unrolled in segments. The foreshortening of the faces of the cats looking upward is apparently not true to nature, but the practice of Chinese artists is to draw only from the frontal point of view. This scroll, which is signed by the artist, was formerly in the collection of Kêng Hsin-kung. It bears two seals of P'an Wên-ch'in (P'an Tsu-yin) and four seals of Ts'ung En, who was governor of Shantung Province during the reign of T'ung Chih. As to the son of Ma Yüan, Ma Lin, I have only seen one example of his work. It belongs to the Palace Collection and was exhibited at Central Park, Peking, May, 1923. It is called "Three Officers Proceeding on Inspection" (*San Kuan Ch'u Hsün*). It is a hanging picture in the same general style as that of his father, but with more delicate lines. To a landscape which might be easily mistaken for one painted by Ma Yüan is added a flock of birds, and this addition, which is said by the critics to have been usual with Ma Lin, was the chief peculiarity of his paintings.

Hsia Kuei, a native of Hangchow, was a contemporary of Ma Yüan and also a fellow-member of the Academy of Painting. His scroll, "Ten Thousand *Li* on the Yangtse" (*Ch'ang Chiang Wan Li*), now owned by Mrs. William Moore, New York, exhibits this artist at his best. His brush strokes are vigorous and graceful, his composition and drawing are of high grade, and there is a certain air of abandon in it. In the Metropolitan Museum there are two halves of a scroll by Hsia Kuei which came from the collection of Li Cho-wu. The original scroll was cut in two pieces, but these fortunately were brought together again like "The Two Swords" (*Chien Ho*), to which the Emperor Ch'ien Lung refers in his annotation on Ku

南人李思南溪山樓閣



A PAVILION IN THE HILLS, BY LI SUNG

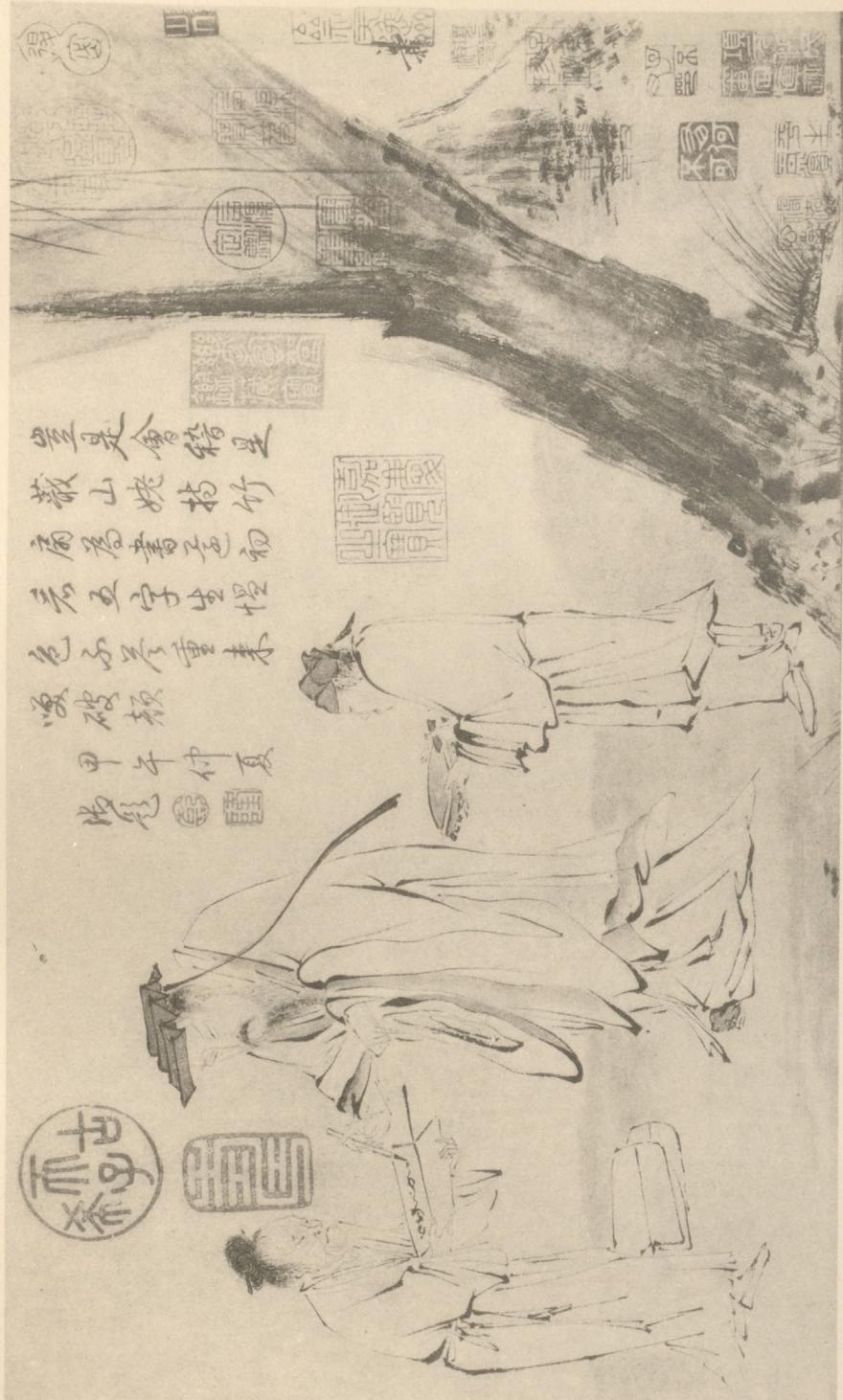


K'ai-chih's "Admonitions" scroll. Hsia Kuei is usually associated with Ma Yüan on account of the similarity in the styles of the two men. Hsia Kuei was not so ambitious in his work as Ma Yüan, but was a more patient and careful worker. While Ma Yüan seemed always to be struggling to do something better than his actual performance, Hsia Kuei painted easily with a grace natural to himself, and leaves one with the impression that he himself was quite satisfied with his work.

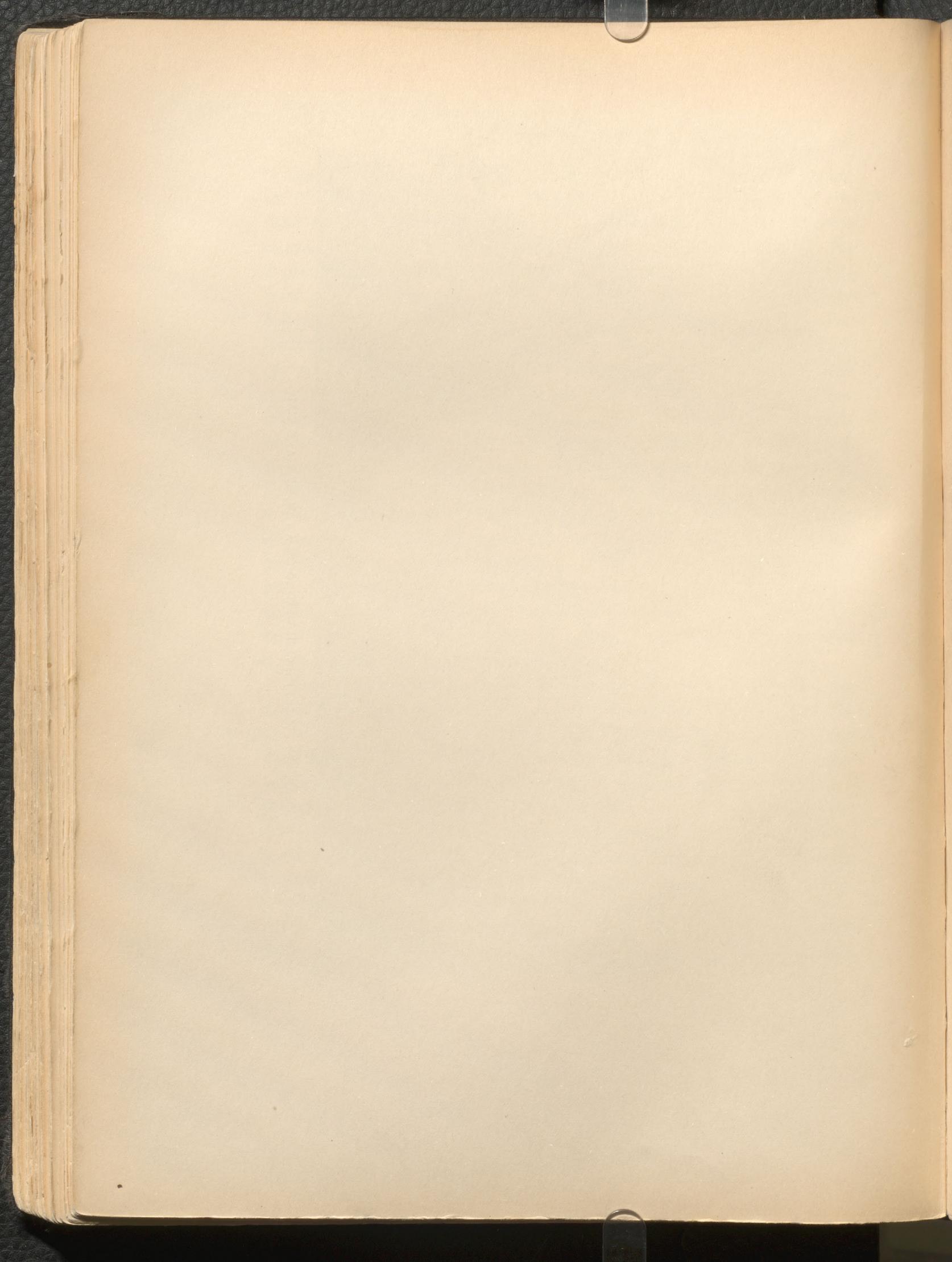
Liu Sung-nien was in many respects the most clever artist of the Southern Sung dynasty in reproducing the style of early landscapists. His scroll, "A Snow Scene" (*Hsüeh Ching*), in the Metropolitan Museum, is one of the best specimens of his work. It is in the style of Wang Wei, and is annotated by the famous artist of the Ming dynasty—Wên Chêng-ming. It was originally in the collection of Ch'iao Ta-chih of the Yüan dynasty, and bears several of his seals. It also has a seal of the great scholar of the Yüan dynasty—Yang Shih-ch'i. In delicacy of brush strokes, in brilliant use of shell white, and in the broad scope of its perspective, this scroll shows the perfection of the work of academicians. The artist was a member of the Academy of Painting during the reign of the Emperor Kuang Tsung (A.D. 1190-95). In the Government Museum, Peking, there are other scrolls by Liu Sung-nien in which he reproduces the style of his predecessors. The *Shih Ku T'ang* and *Ch'ing-bo Shu Hua Fang* mention the scroll "Listening to the Lute" (*T'ing Ch'in*) as one of his best works, but I have not had the opportunity of seeing it as it has never been placed on exhibition in the Government Museum where it is preserved. *Shih Ku T'ang* also records another scroll by Liu Sung-nien called "Lu T'ung Drawing Tea" (*Lu T'ung P'êng Ch'a*), and pronounces it a painting of high grade. The tale that it depicts is of Lu T'ung, a poet of the seventh century A.D., who is famous for his love of tea and for an ode which he prepared on the subject of tea-drinking. In this ode he said that his seventh cup of tea affected him in the same way as if a gentle breeze had lifted him from the ground and was carrying him heavenward. Liu Sung-nien showed little originality in his work, but as a copyist of early styles made a valuable contribution to the art products of his dynasty.

Liang K'ai was a member of the Imperial Academy of Painting during the Chia T'ai period (A.D. 1201-5) of the Emperor Ning Tsung. He was disliked by his associates who, it is said, did not approve of his careless style of workmanship. They called him "Crazy Liang" (*Liang Feng-tzü*). He drank heavily, and often his paintings were executed while he was intoxicated. There are many of his paintings in Japan, where his work is highly prized. The *Kokka* illustrates several pictures attributed to Liang K'ai. The Japanese critic, Sei-ichi Taki, in his "Three Essays on Oriental Painting" (p. 73), describes a painting, "The Dancing P'u T'i." He says: "This is probably the most famed among the Ashikaga collections, or for that matter, among any other collection in this land, having unanimously been spoken of in ancient writings as a masterpiece of unsurpassed excellence. It is hard to give another Chinese figure painting which approaches the present work. It is a perfect study of idealism founded on realism. The telling effect of minimized strokes being most wonderful especially where he left out the outline of the crown of the head for the beholder to fill it in by his imagination. And all these effects were brought out by the single India-ink color which appears in full triumph in the mass of streaky lines representing a garment." This painting is illustrated in Plate L of "Three Essays," and judging from its appearance there is little reason to doubt that it is a genuine specimen of the work of Liang K'ai.

The most famous of his paintings is that of "Wang Hsi-chih Writing on a Fan" (*Yu-chün Shu Shan*). This is fully described in Volume V (p. 16) of "The Records of the Southern Sung Academy of Painting" (*Nan Sung Yüan Hua Lu*). Wang Hsi-chih is dressed in the long flowing robes of early China with a flat accordion-pleated cap on his head. In front of him a servant is holding a fan on which Wang Hsi-chih is writing. At his left stands another servant holding an ink pallet. The trunk of a huge fir tree is shown on the right of the picture, suggesting that the group is standing in its shade. This painting has on its face a poetical annotation by the Emperor Ch'ien Lung, and is much disfigured by the many seals which this ardent admirer placed upon it. It is a very strong drawing, and is suggestive of the work of Wu Tao-tzü or Li Kung-lin, to both of whom later critics



WANG HSI-CHIH WRITING ON A FAN, BY LIANG K'AI



constantly compare Liang K'ai. The subject relates to the same scene as that of "The Orchid Pavilion" by Chao Po-chü, mentioned in a previous paragraph.

Another great painting by this artist is "The Sixteen Lohans" (*Shih Liu Ying Chén*), which belongs to a private collector in Peking, Lin Ch'angming. It is interesting to note that the artist has omitted the two Chinese patriarchs and has confined his attention solely to the strange faces of the sixteen Lohan who came from foreign countries. The faces of the Lohan, though grotesque, exhibit great virility. All of them are standing figures. The first is followed by two servants, one of whom carries a flower vase and the other a huge fan. The second Lohan is accompanied by two followers, the one on the left with a Chinese face, holding an incense urn, and the one on the right grasping a fly brush and pointing to a monkey which holds in its hand a pomegranate. The third person is leaning on the shoulder of an old servant and supporting himself with a staff. Behind him are three attendants, one of whom is leading a lion and another holding aloft in his hands the lion's cub. Each of the remaining figures has his own individual setting different from that of any other. In a long annotation Wang Wên-chih of the Ch'ien Lung period likens this picture to "The Arhats" (*Lien Shé T'u*) of Li Kung-lin, but having seen both of these pictures, I am inclined to believe that in comparison that of Liang K'ai is the better. It takes rank among the greatest of Buddhistic paintings, not only for its fidelity to Buddhist traditions, but for the freedom and strength with which the artist treats his subject.

Li Sung was an academician during the reign of the Emperor Kuang Tsung. He was of humble birth, and in his youth was apprenticed as a carpenter. Li Ts'ung-hsün, seeing the genius of the boy, adopted him as his own son. One of his most famous paintings is "Watching the Bore" (*Kuan Ch'ao T'u*). The famous bore of Hangchow Bay impressed Li Sung in the same way as it does those who behold it today. It lost none of its grandeur to one who, like the artist living at Hangchow, could see it every day. This painting is in the Palace Collection, Peking. Another famous painting is "Conquering the Soil" (*Fu T'ien T'u*). It is a series of twelve agricultural

scenes done on one strip of silk divided into panels by black lines. Such a method of panel painting was a peculiarity of Li Sung. I have seen an example of this type of his work. A strip of silk six feet four inches long, two feet nine inches wide, is divided into three panels. These panels are not quite uniform in height, the upper one being two feet one inch, the middle one two feet two and a half inches, and the lower one a trifle more than two feet. The effect on the beholder of this slight variation in size is that the three panels appear to be exactly the same size. The three scenes in this painting represent: first, a call from the home to the priesthood; next, the departure for the temple; and, third, the reception at the temple. The composition and coloring of this picture show Li Sung to have been a good artist, but one closely bound to the conventions of his craft.

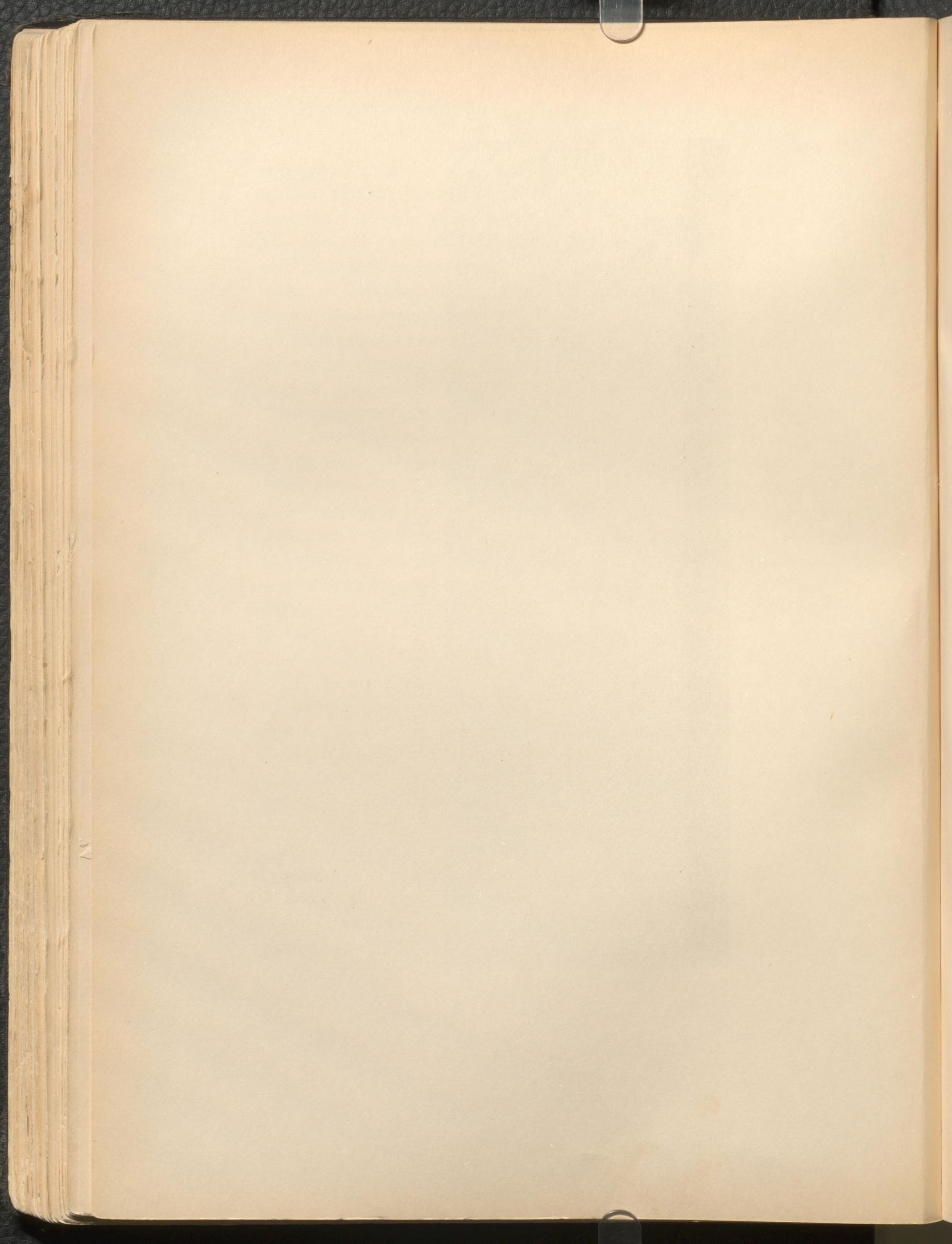
Wu Ping was a member of the Academy during the same period as Li Sung. I have seen one specimen of his work, "Ducks and Hibiscus" (*Fu Jung Yüan Ying*). The flowers, as well as the plumage of the two mandarin ducks, are delicately colored. This painting is a good example of the work of an academician, but is lacking in originality of conception and boldness of execution. Several paintings of Wu Ping are in the Government Museum, Peking, and his work has been highly praised by Wu Ch'i-chêن and other critics.

Fang Ch'un-nien was a member of the Academy during the Shao Ting and Ching Ting periods of the Emperor Li Tsung. His chief work was in painting religious subjects. His scroll "Female Devas Scattering Flowers" (*T'ien Nü San Hua*) is dated the second year of Shao Ting (1229). It bears the seal *Chin Su* of Ku Ying, a collector of the Yüan dynasty, and also seals of Shih Ming-ku of the Ming dynasty. This scroll portrays devas with long, graceful garments floating through the air holding streamers in their hands and scattering flowers over the earth. The postures of the figures have been recently exhibited on the stage by the noted actor, Mei Lan-fang, the subject of whose most famous play is the same as that of this scroll.

Chao Mêng-chien was a descendant in the eleventh generation of the founder of the Sung dynasty, Chao K'uang-yin (T'ai Tsu). He was born and lived at Hai-yen. In the second year of the Pao Ch'ing period of the



FEMALE DEVAS SCATTERING FLOWERS, BY FANG CH'UN-NIEN



Emperor Li Tsung (A.D. 1226), he obtained the highest literary degree of *Chin Shih*, but there is no record of his having been appointed to the Academy of Painting. His literary standing was too high to allow him to accept such a position, for the Academy of Painting was much inferior in rank to the Hanlin Academy. In addition to his personal name he is known as Chao Tzü-ku, and also as I Chai. He was one of the most distinguished, if not indeed the most distinguished, man of the Southern Sung, and is often compared to Mi Fei of the Northern Sung dynasty. His accomplishments in literature and calligraphy were only equaled by his distinction as a painter. He was the author of "A Treatise on the Plum Tree" (*Mei P'u*), and also of a collection of writings called *I Chai Wén Pien*. He lived to the ripe age of ninety-seven, and on the fall of the Southern Sung dynasty retired to a mountain resort at Hsiu-chou (modern Hua-t'ing) on the border between the provinces of Kiangsu and Chekiang. Chao Mêng-chien specialized in the painting of the narcissus flower. He left several scrolls, one of which is in the Government Museum, Peking. It is painted in black and white. The graceful narcissus stalks grow out of the rocks; the flowers are opened in full bloom and are massed in every conceivable position, sometimes with the face of the flower in view and at other times with it turning backward in a tangle of stalks. It was formerly in the collection of Hsiang Yüan-pien, and bears many of his seals. I have often seen this remarkable scroll and consider it one of the best existing specimens of Chinese painting.

During the Southern Sung dynasty Chinese painting may be said to have reached full maturity in the work of the Imperial Academy. The pictures of the academicians were perfect in design and coloring, but lacked the optimism and youth of the work executed by the artists of the T'ang and the Northern Sung dynasties. The removal of the capital from K'ai-fêng to Hangchow was the dividing line between the Northern and Southern Sung dynasties. In many respects it was similar to the year 400 B.C. in Greece, previous to which time there had been two centuries of prolific activity in poetry, philosophy, history, and art. The highest standards of excellence had already been set, and it only remained for the generations which came after 400 B.C. to endeavor to maintain them. It was a time for stabilization

and standardization. The close of the Northern and the commencement of the Southern Sung dynasties marked in China a similar epochal transition. It is therefore impossible to speak of the Sung dynasty as a whole; it must be divided into Northern and Southern. The tendencies and accomplishments of the Northern and Southern divisions of this dynasty are quite different. The former was a period of fresh creation; the latter was one of adherence to fixed standards. This is the explanation of the fact that some artists in the subsequent Yüan and Ming dynasties were able to produce as high a grade of work as those of the Southern Sung.

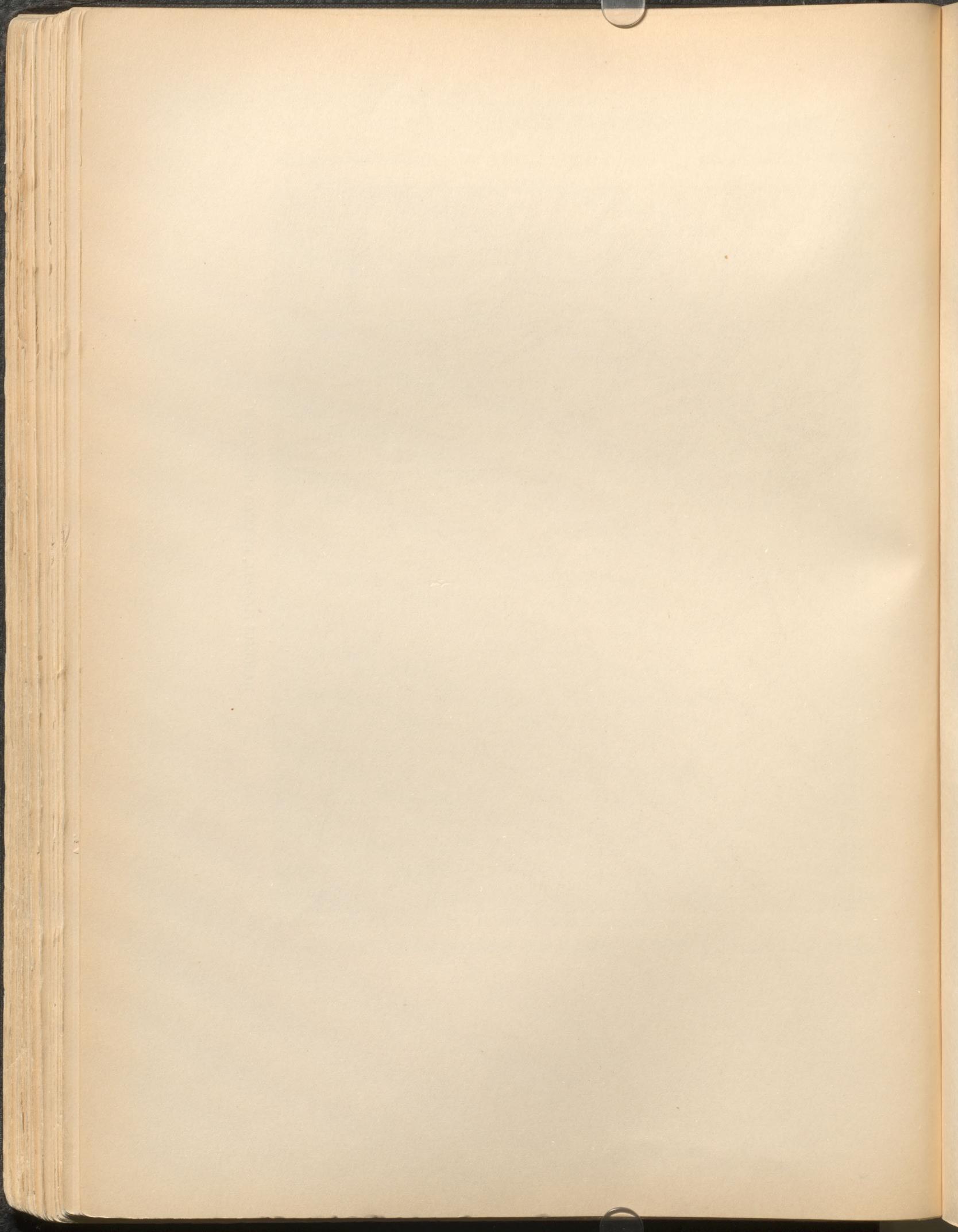
The Chin dynasty, which extended from 1115 to 1234, was contemporaneous during most of its existence with the Southern Sung. The founder was Akuta, a chieftain of the Nü-chên Tartars under the Liao dynasty. He declared his independence, and was immediately recognized by the Liao as the first emperor of the Chin dynasty. His family name was Wan-yen. He drove the Liao from Peking, where he established his capital and entered into relations with the Emperor Hui Tsung. This dynasty at first ruled over the few northern provinces of China which were the centers of early civilization, but, after the Southern Sung dynasty established itself at Hangchow, the Chin dynasty was practically in control of all the territory north of the Yangtse River. There were two artists in this dynasty whose paintings I have seen, Yang Pang-chi and Li Shan.

Yang Pang-chi painted "A Barbarian Horseman" (*Fan Ch'i*) on a large strip of silk six feet nine inches in height, three feet eleven inches in width. It depicts a Mongol horseman mounted on a piebald pacing horse which is in rapid motion. Over the saddle is a leopard skin on which the rider is seated. In the background is an old willow tree from which fresh branches have sprung. The name of the artist is on a stone at the bottom of the picture. This painting came from the collection of Ts'ao Hsi-lin (Ts'ao Santo), of Fênyang, Shansi Province. This collector was a member of the Hanlin Academy during the latter part of the Emperor Ch'ien Lung's reign. In its intensity of action this picture may be compared to the "Horse and Rider," by Albert Cuyp, in the Munich Gallery.

The most famous picture of this dynasty is "Wind and Snow among Pine



NARCISSUS FLOWERS, BY CHAO MENG-CHIEN



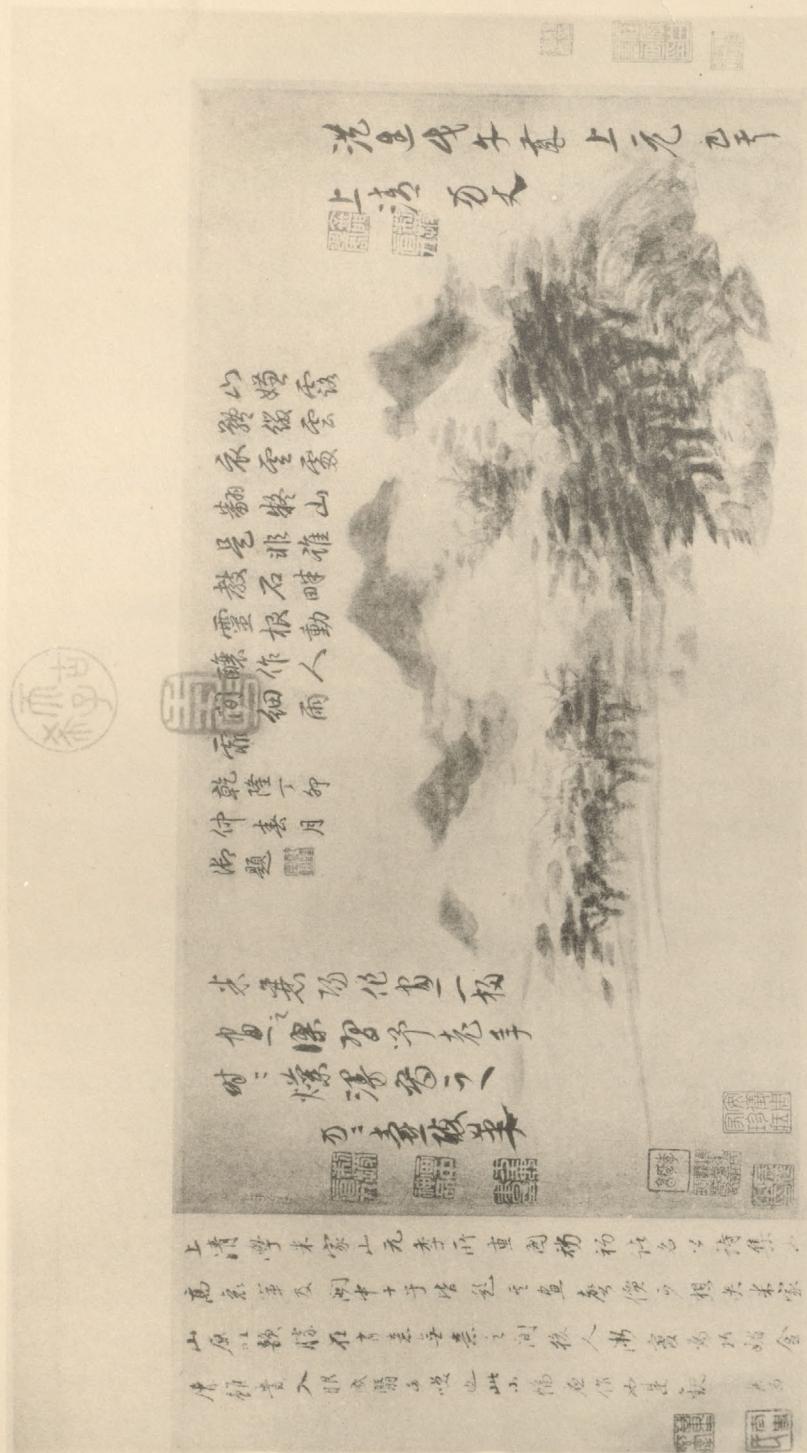
Trees" (*Féng Hsüeh Sung Shan*), by Li Shan. This was formerly in the collection of An I-chou, and is fully described in *Mo Yüan Hui Kuan*. It is now owned by Mr. Eugene Meyer, Jr., New York. It is a scroll on silk about nine inches in height and two and a half feet in length. In symmetry and rhythm it can be compared to the work of Ching Hao and Fan K'uan. Tall pine trees are seen growing on the many-peaked hills. In front of a rude pavilion a figure is seated, hovering over a stone. The brush strokes, whether perpendicular or horizontal, are full of virile strength. The scenery in the broad perspective is varied, but everywhere grand and impressive. The artist has signed his name at the beginning of the scroll, "Painted by Li Shan of P'ing-yang" (*P'ing-yang Li Shan Chih*). An I-chou describes it as having annotations by three noted men, Ni Tsan, Wang Mêng, and Wu Chên. There is also a poetical annotation by Wang Shih-chêng, and a critical one by Wên Po-jên. It has many seals of famous men such as Wang Shih-chêng, Chang Tsê-chih, and Yen Sung. This painting was for many years in the collection of P'ang Lai-ch'êن of Shanghai, who, as has been already noted, also owned "The Drunken Priest" by Li Kung-lin. Being the owner of two famous scrolls by artists, both of whose surnames were Li, Mr. P'ang called his studio *Er Li Chai*, i.e., "The Studio of the Two Li"; but as both scrolls have now passed out of his possession, this name is no longer used.

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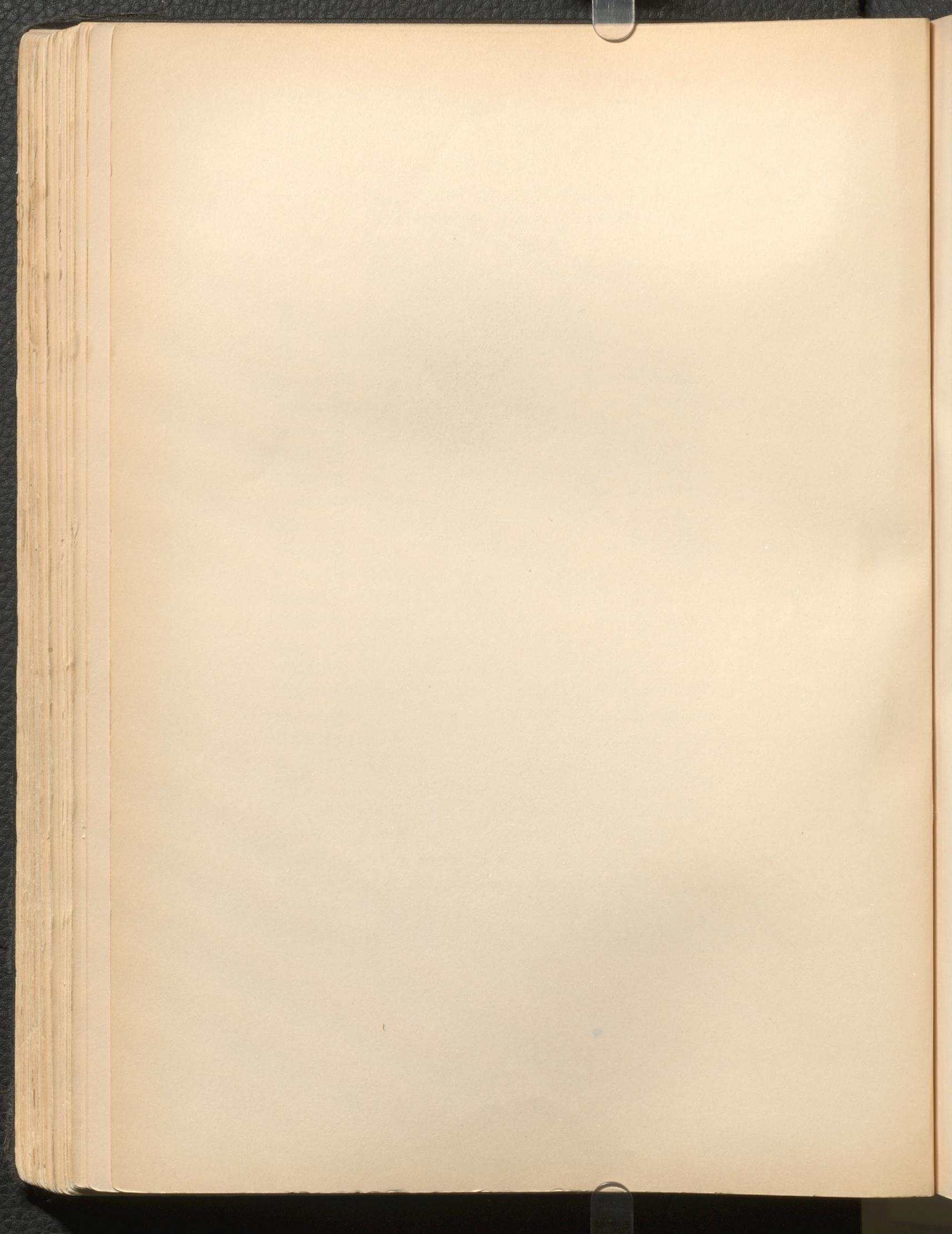
PAINTERS OF THE YÜAN DYNASTY

IT WAS many years after Genghis Khan (1162-1227) broke through the Great Wall and entered China near Ning-hsia before his grandson, Kublai Khan, made himself master of China. In 1276 Hangchow, the capital city of the Southern Sung dynasty, opened its gates and surrendered the final remnants of its power to the conquering Mongols. The last two emperors of the Southern Sung wandered from place to place as did the first of their line until eventually the unfortunate youthful emperor, known in history as Ti Ping, lost his life at Yai-shan in Kuantung Province and brought to a close the Sung dynasty. In 1264 Kublai Khan had already chosen Peking as the capital of his new dynasty to which the name Yüan was given. In addition to his vigorous military campaigns which extended to many of the smaller countries surrounding China, Kublai Khan devoted considerable attention to the building-up of a stable government. In 1287 he opened the Imperial Academy, to which he assigned many of the Southern Sung scholars who had been captured during his various expeditions. He sent Ch'êng Chü-fu as an envoy through the central and southern part of China to hunt out the abode of renowned scholars and invite them to court. The envoy found Chao Mêng-fu who went with him to the hermit retreat of Chao Mêng-chien, but this sturdy scholar refused to receive the imperial messenger and would only allow his own brother, Chao Mêng-fu, to enter by the back door. Although Chao Mêng-chien declined to go to court, his younger brother, Chao Mêng-fu, along with more than twenty other scholars who were well known at the time, returned with Ch'êng Chü-fu to Peking and became the connecting link of Sung dynasty culture with that of the Yüan and succeeding generations.

Chao Mêng-fu (1254-1322) inherited the prestige of being a descendant of the founder of the Sung dynasty and the hereditary right to an official



A LANDSCAPE, IN THE STYLE OF MI FEI, BY FANG FANG-HU



position. His fame, however, does not rest upon his birth but upon his own great achievements. He added to his extraordinary natural talents an unusual capacity for diligent work. In government service he was an efficient president of a board under the new dynasty, which might have been expected on account of his birth to have held him at arm's length. As a literary man he was appointed to the highest post in the Hanlin Academy. In calligraphy he was a master of all styles of writing—seal characters (*chuan shu*), official writing (*li shu*), model style (*kai shu*), and running style (*hsing shu*). In writing he could easily follow the style of any of his predecessors. In painting he swept away the formal conventions of the Southern Sung Academy of Painting and restored freedom to artists. In his painting of figures and religious subjects he went back to the T'ang style as he did also by following the style of Han Kan in the painting of horses. In landscape he adopted the style of Tung Yüan. It may be said of Chao Mêng-fu that his was a combination of literary, calligraphic, and artistic talent such as no other single man in the long history of China has ever displayed. He is known as Chao Tzü-ang, and the Emperor Kublai usually addressed him with the familiar term Tzü-ang. His pen name was "Retired Scholar of the Snowy Pines" (*Sung Hsüeh Chü Shih*). His canonical name is Chao Wên-min, and his official title "Duke of Wei" (*Wei Kuo Kung*).

A good specimen of the work of Chao Mêng-fu is found in the Metropolitan Museum attached to a scroll "The Ten Horses" (*Chiu Chiao San Mu*), by P'ei K'uan of the T'ang dynasty. The name "Ten Horses" has been given by me to this scroll, for it depicts ten horses at pasturage on an autumn plain. A more correct translation of the Chinese title would have been "An Autumn Pasturage," but this would not have brought out the most prominent feature, which is not the landscape but the ten horses in various positions at pasturage. Chao Mêng-fu treated this same subject, and was doubtless aware of its having been painted earlier by P'ei K'uan. A zealous collector brought the two paintings together and mounted them in one scroll, though each painting is worthy of being considered separately on its own merits. The only advantage of their being together is that it gives a good opportunity to note the variations which a later artist felt at

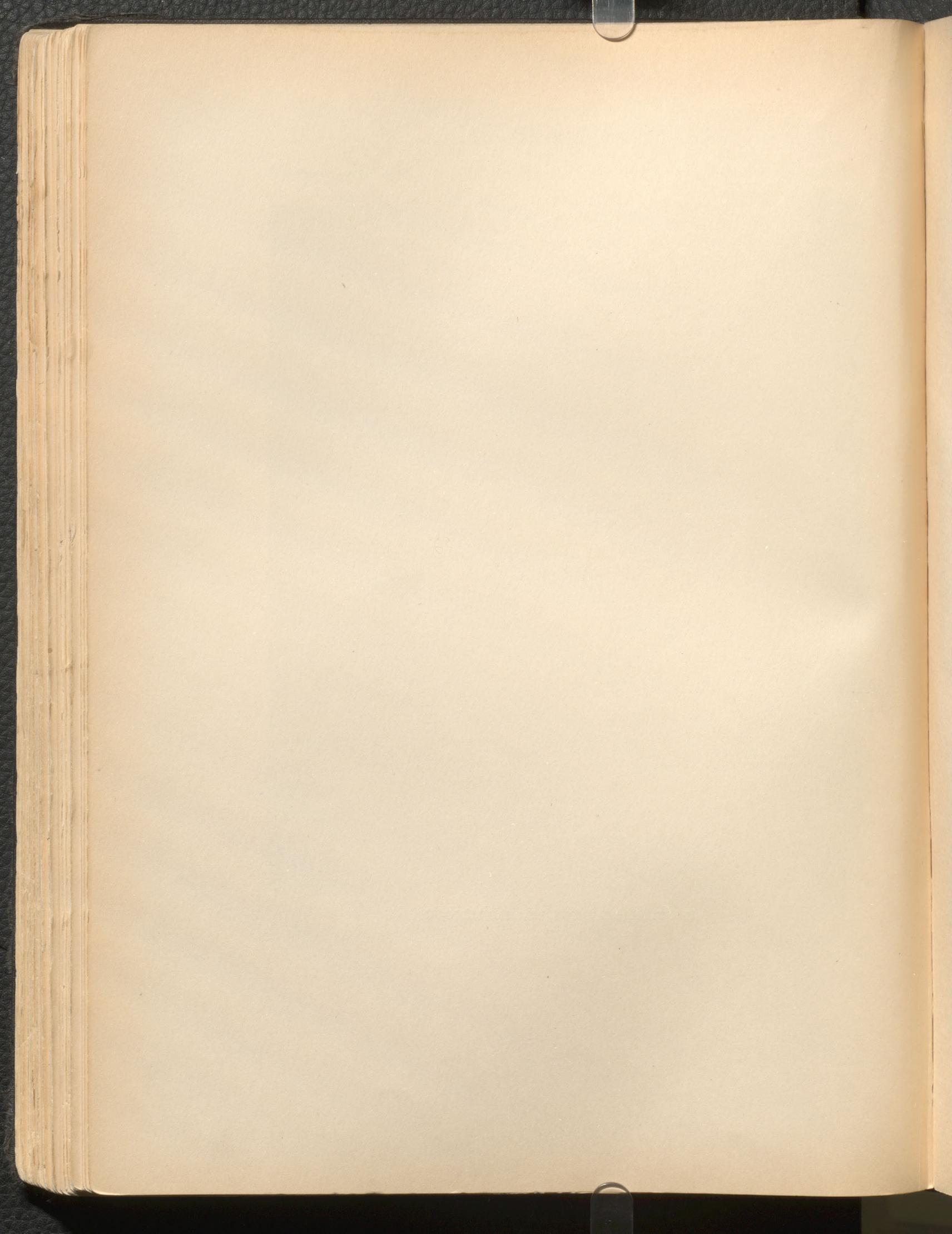
liberty to make in reproducing the work of his predecessors. In this particular case Chao Mêng-fu found in the work of a T'ang dynasty artist a theme concerning horses, which was especially fitted to his own time when the Mongol passion for horses had been imitated throughout China. In reproducing a picture with this subject, Chao Mêng-fu exhibits two qualities which have usually characterized Chinese littérateurs. On the one hand, they have been anxious to make themselves agreeable to their official superiors, and as a rule have been willing to cater to prevailing court likings; on the other hand, they have sought to square themselves with their contemporaries and with the judgment of later generations by harking back to some well-known predecessor who could be quoted as a precedent, or, sometimes even, as a justification. This "Autumn Pasturage" scroll by Chao Mêng-fu is on silk. It is signed by the artist's name, Tzü-ang, and is dated the eleventh month of the first year of Huang Ch'ing (A.D. 1312). In the upper right-hand corner of the scroll are the five characters *Chiu Chiao Yin Ma Tu*, which is a slight variation of P'ei K'uan's title, and means, literally, "Watering Horses on the Plains in Autumn." There is an annotation by K'o Chiu-ssü in which he likens this picture to that of the "Five Horses," by Wei Yen, and the "Ten Horses," by P'ei K'uan. It was doubtless due to this statement that the paintings of P'ei K'uan and Chao Mêng-fu were brought together. One can only wish that the efforts of the collector had been as successful in finding the painting of Wei Yen as in the case of that of P'ei K'uan. This small painting of Chao Mêng-fu exhibits fidelity of conception combined with strength of execution. His brush strokes are firm and certain; his coloring is in harmony with his subject. In short, this painting is in accord with the accepted canons and traditions of Chinese pictorial art. This scroll is fully described in *Shih Ku T'ang*.

In the Government Museum, Peking, I have frequently seen one of the most famous scrolls painted by Chao Mêng-fu. It is called "Autumnal Colors on the Ch'iao and Hua Mountains" (*Ch'iao Hua Chiu Se*). These mountains are in Li-ch'êng, Shantung Province, on the northern borders of a lake. They have been famous in Chinese literature and art from the time of the foundation of the Chow dynasty, and were visited by the Emperor

延祐五年九月院金敎畫于大都寓舍孟頫



THE THREE RELIGIONS, BY CHAO MÊNG-FU



Ch'ien Lung on his journey to the southern provinces. The poet, Li T'ai-po, praised them in one of his well-known poems. In portraying their beauties Chao Mêng-fu was in full accord with the best traditions of his country. He himself visited these hills on his journey from Hangchow to Peking. Hua Shan is a cone-shaped hill on the east, and Ch'iao Shan a flat-topped hill on the west of the northern shore of the lake. In front of both hills are groups of willow and small pine trees. Extending to the right of Ch'iao Shan is a country hamlet with a fisherman in the foreground raising his net, and a flock of five sheep waiting to enter their fold. At the beginning of the scroll two boatmen are seen poling their small craft. In the center of the picture there are two other boatmen, one of whom is fishing. The whole impression of the picture is one of quiet beauty. The Emperor Ch'ien Lung has covered the blank portions of the scroll with his seals and annotations which are more conspicuous than the artist's own statement written in his beautiful handwriting. The colophon signed Wu-hsing Chao Mêng-fu is dated the twelfth month of the first year of Yüan Chên (A.D. 1295). The colophon is followed by the artist's seal of four characters, *Chao Shih Tzü-ang*.

There are three other pictures by this artist which I have seen. One of these is owned by Feng Hsü, of Peking. It is called "The Three Religions" (*San Chiao Tu*), and presents three standing figures: Confucius, Buddha, and Lao-tzü. Confucius with his long black beard and flowing robes holding a kilin in his arms; Buddha with green hair and whiskers, wearing large ear-rings, his folded hands uplifted as if in prayer; the white-bearded Lao-tzü with enormous eyebrows holding in his hands a staff. This picture is signed the ninth month of the fifth year of Yen Yu (A.D. 1318). It is the same scene as is incorrectly called "Christ with Nestorian Priests" by Giles in his *History of Chinese Pictorial Art*. In Giles's illustration Lao-tzü stands at the left, Confucius in the center, with Buddha at his right. The second picture is in the collection of Ching Hsien, Peking. It is called "The Three Horses of the Chao Family." Of these the first was painted by Chao Mêng-fu; the second, by his son Chao Jung, who gained an independent reputation as a painter of distinction; and the third, by his grandson, Chao Lin. The painting, "The Three Horses," is in the same style as that of

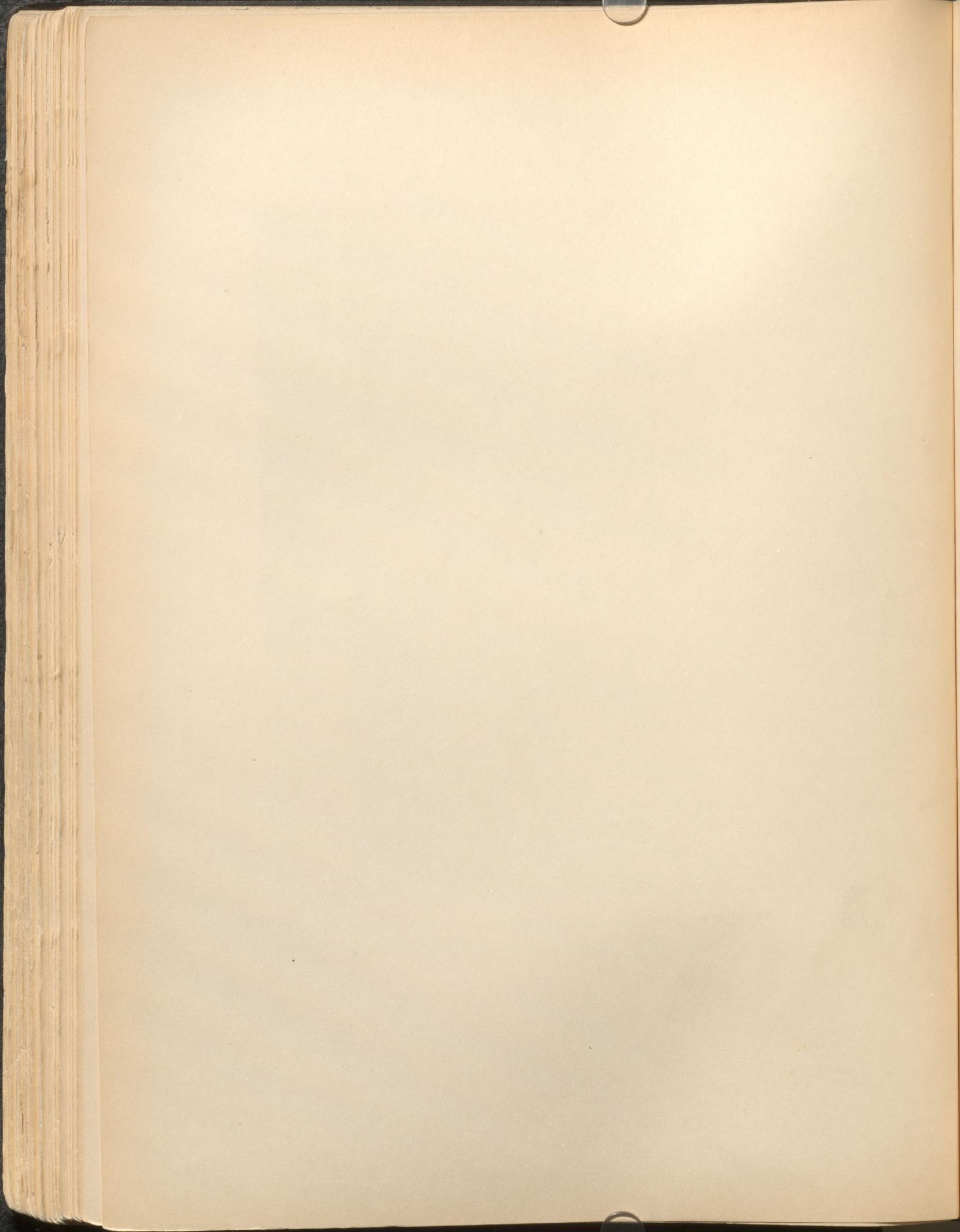
"The Five Horses," by Li Kung-lin, to which it is not inferior in brush strokes. The third picture is that of "Tzü Kung Meeting Yüan Hsien" (*Tzü Kung Chien Yüan Hsien*). These two men were disciples of Confucius, and the incident depicted is the visit of Tzü Kung who went in great style with a chariot and four horses, to call upon Yüan Hsien. Yüan Hsien had been living the life of a hermit after the death of Confucius and went out to receive the call of Tzü Kung, wearing an old hat made of mulberry bark, old clothes and shoes, and supporting himself on a pilgrim's staff. When Tzü Kung inquired anxiously as to the health of Yüan Hsien, he replied that he was poor but not ill, and said that the only illness he feared was an inability to do what he knew to be right. This scene was of the kind that especially appealed to Chao Mêng-fu, and his painting shows his strong sympathy with plain living and high thinking. The wife of Chao Mêng-fu, Kuan Fu-jên, was a talented painter of orchids and bamboos. She frequently co-operated with her husband in painting. I have seen one authentic example of this joint work in which Kuan Fu-jên painted bamboos, the rest of the work having been done by Chao Mêng-fu.

Kao K'o-kung, who was a native of Central Asia, came to the court of Kublai Khan, was given a high official position, and made for himself a well-earned reputation as a painter. He is known also as Kao Yen-ching and Kao Fang-shan. He followed the style of Mi Fei, and furnished inspiration for two later painters—Ni Tsan and Fang Fang-hu. His greatest work was in the painting of bamboos in which this artist claimed for himself that while some had been able to paint the form and others the spirit, he had been able to combine both form and spirit. I have only seen one authentic painting by this artist which is "Ink Studies of Bamboos" (*Mo Chu*). In this picture Kao K'o-kung wields a brush with great strength and yet with delicacy of touch. The author of *Ch'ing-ho Shu Hua Fang*, in speaking of one of his paintings which he had seen in the collection of Hsiang Yüan-pien, inquired why anyone should wish to see the work of Wang Wei or Li Ch'êng when he had an opportunity of seeing that of Kao K'o-kung. This seems to be extravagant praise, but there can be no doubt that this artist deserves an honorable position in the ranks of Chinese painters.



FISHING AFTER RAIN, BY CHAO YUNG

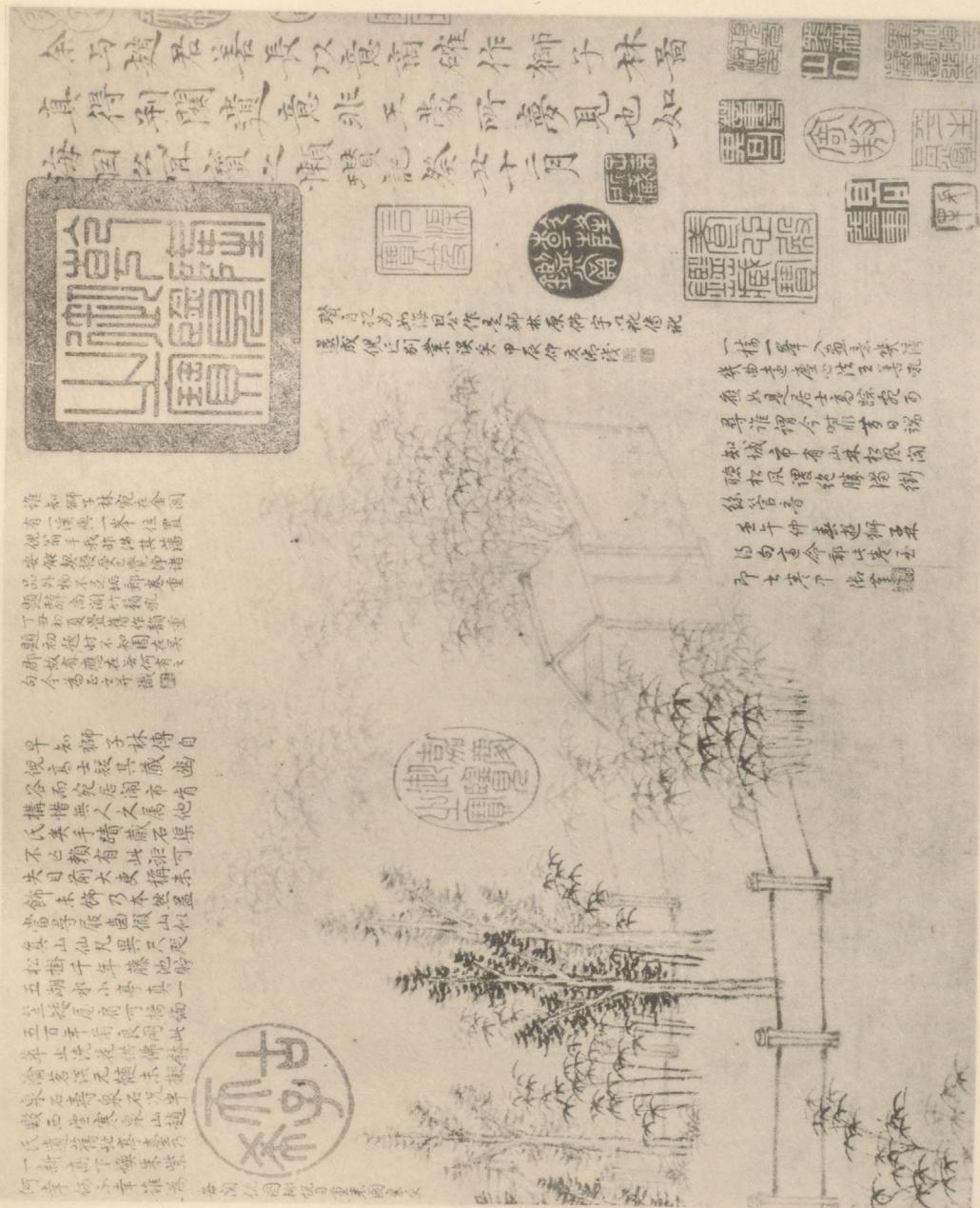
元趙雍字仲穆孟頫子官至集賢待制同知湖州總管府事山水師董源尤善人馬花石見圖繪寶鑑



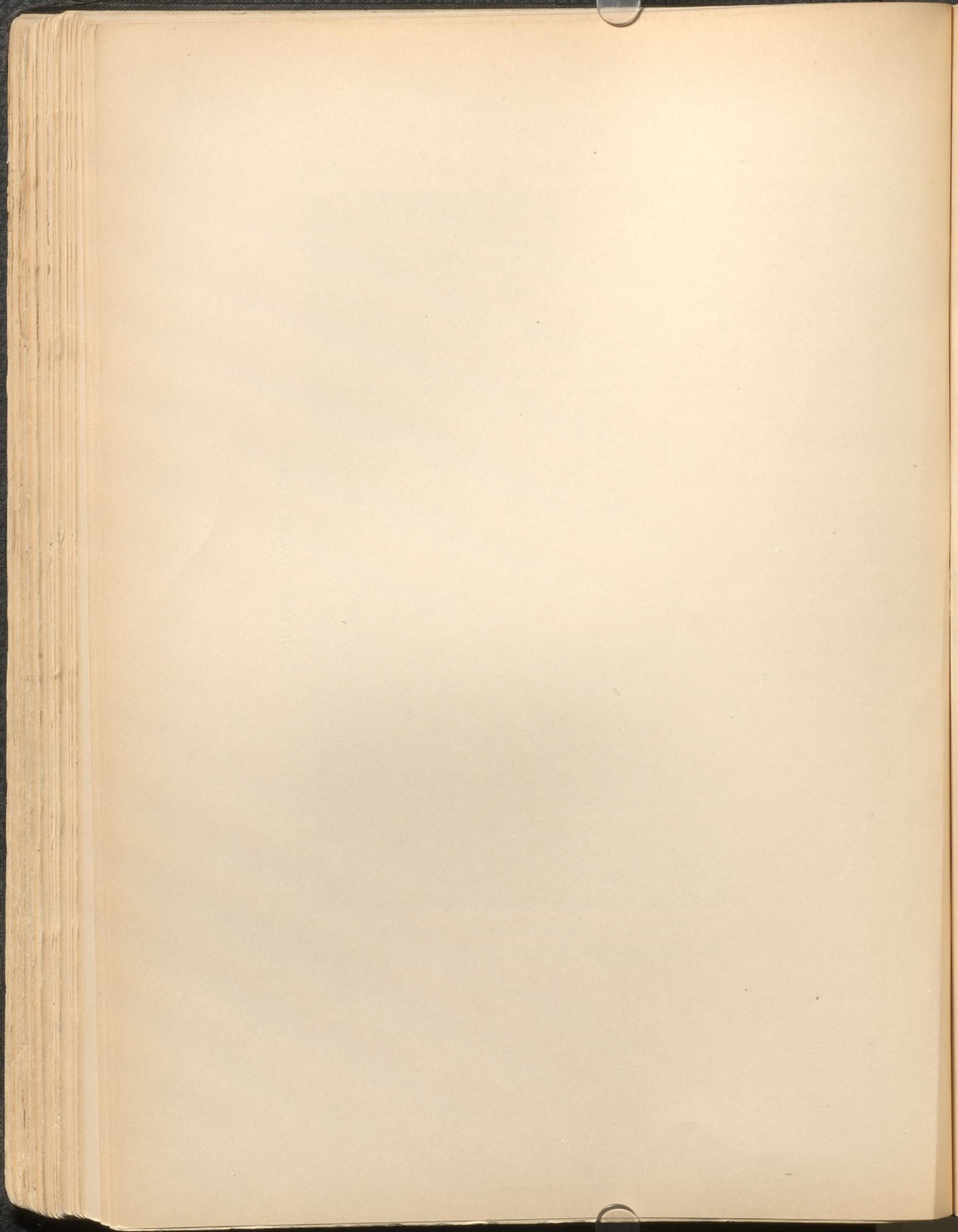
Huang Kung-wang is known also as Huang Tzü-chiu and "Single Peak" (*I Feng Tao Jén*) and "Very Crazy" (*Ta Ch'ih*). He was fond of nature in the open. In an annotation on one of his paintings Chu Chih-fan says that Huang Kung-wang, while living in retirement, used to wander over the Yü Mountain (modern Ch'ang-shu, Kiangsu Province). He would often sit down for hours, making sketches of the landscape before him. This is very unusual with Chinese landscapists, and I do not remember having seen this comment made concerning any other, although love of nature as demonstrated by extensive wanderings in the hills was frequently characteristic of this class of artists. One of the best paintings by Huang Kung-wang is "Dwelling on Fu-ch'un Mountain" (*Fu-ch'un Shan Chü*), now in the Government Museum, Peking. It is a scroll on paper about twenty feet in length and one foot in height. This artist had two distinct styles of painting: one in which he used thick, heavy strokes and depicted rugged scenery; in the other style he used fine, delicate strokes and depicted quiet scenes. The Fu-ch'un scroll is in the latter style, and justifies Ni Tsan's comparison of Huang Kung-wang to Kao K'o-kung. In an attached annotation Tung Ch'i-ch'ang narrates that the owner of this scroll during the early part of the Ming dynasty was so passionately fond of it that he did not wish anyone else ever to possess it. Shortly before his death the owner, Hsü, left his sickbed, went to the place where the picture was stored, found it, threw it into the fire, and then hastened back to his bed thoroughly tired out. Fortunately his son saw what his father had done and rescued the painting from the fire, the only damage done having been the mutilation of the first part of the scroll. This has been patched, and the place where the new paper is joined to the old one can easily be seen. The paper on which the scroll is painted is in several lengths, and it is evident that the third section from the end has not the same quality of paper or ink as the other sections have. This part of the scroll was probably also injured, and has been replaced. This painting is well executed. It has the virtue of freedom and spontaneity, but lacks spirituality. It reveals the cleverness of this artist in use of brush strokes, but lacks the inspiration of the earlier great landscapists. I have seen another painting by Huang Kung-wang in the collection of Ts'ai Po-

hao, done with thick, heavy strokes, but much prefer the Fu-ch'un scroll. However, both pictures exhibit the tendency of painting to turn to writing, and Huang Kung-wang may be considered to have added great impetus to this movement. This style of painting was afterward known as "Literary Men's Paintings" (*wén jén hua*). It showed splendid control of the brush and followed all of the prescribed canons, but it was dilettantish and pedantic.

Wang Mêng is another great favorite of the conventional literary class. His poetical comments on his own paintings are as clever as the pictures themselves. His work is calligraphic rather than imaginative, but in imagination he is superior to Huang Kung-wang. He followed the style of his maternal grandfather, Chao Mêng-fu, and sought to imitate this many-sided genius; but his writing, composition, and painting are all inferior to those of his illustrious example. If his unquestioned brilliance had been supplemented by patient work, as in the case of Chao Mêng-fu, his pictures would have been more praiseworthy. I have seen one large hanging painting on paper by this artist. It represents a stream flowing down through a valley on both sides of which the hills are covered with flowering peach trees. The stream opens out into a pond on the side of which a fisherman is seen half hidden by overhanging trees. It is a scene which would tempt one to wander in the hills. Though charming, this picture is too redolent of the refined studio. Its name is *Hua Hsi Yü Ying*, which expresses in concise form the description of the picture which I have given. The most famous painting of Wang Mêng is that of "The Thatched House of the South Village" (*Nan Ts'un T'sao T'ang*). The place described in the title of this picture was the home of his friend, T'ao Tsung-i, who had retired into private life on account of failure to pass the highest literary examination. It was in this place that T'ao wrote his famous book, *Cho Kêng Lu*, which contains so many valuable comments on painting and poetry. This picture is listed in the collection of the Government Museum, Peking, but I have never had an opportunity of seeing it. It has been described to me by one who had examined it as delicately colored and full of imaginative beauty. There is another painting by this artist which I have frequently seen. It was formerly in the collection of Tuan Fang, and later



THE LION GROVE, BY NI TSAN



in that of P'ang Lai-ch'êñ. It is called "Ko Hung Moving" (*Chih Ch'uan I Chü*). The scene depicted is the removal of Ko Hung to Kou Lou where he could obtain cinnabar for compounding the pills of immortality. The old man is seen walking with a staff and holding in his left arm a fawn. His wife follows behind riding on a cow and carrying in her arms a small child. Two other children trail on behind their mother. The brushwork is carefully executed, and the general impression received from the painting is quite different from the careless style usually followed by this artist. Wang Mêng was known also as Wang Shu-ming and the "Fuel Gatherer of Huang Ho Hill" (*Huang Ho Shan Ch'iao*).

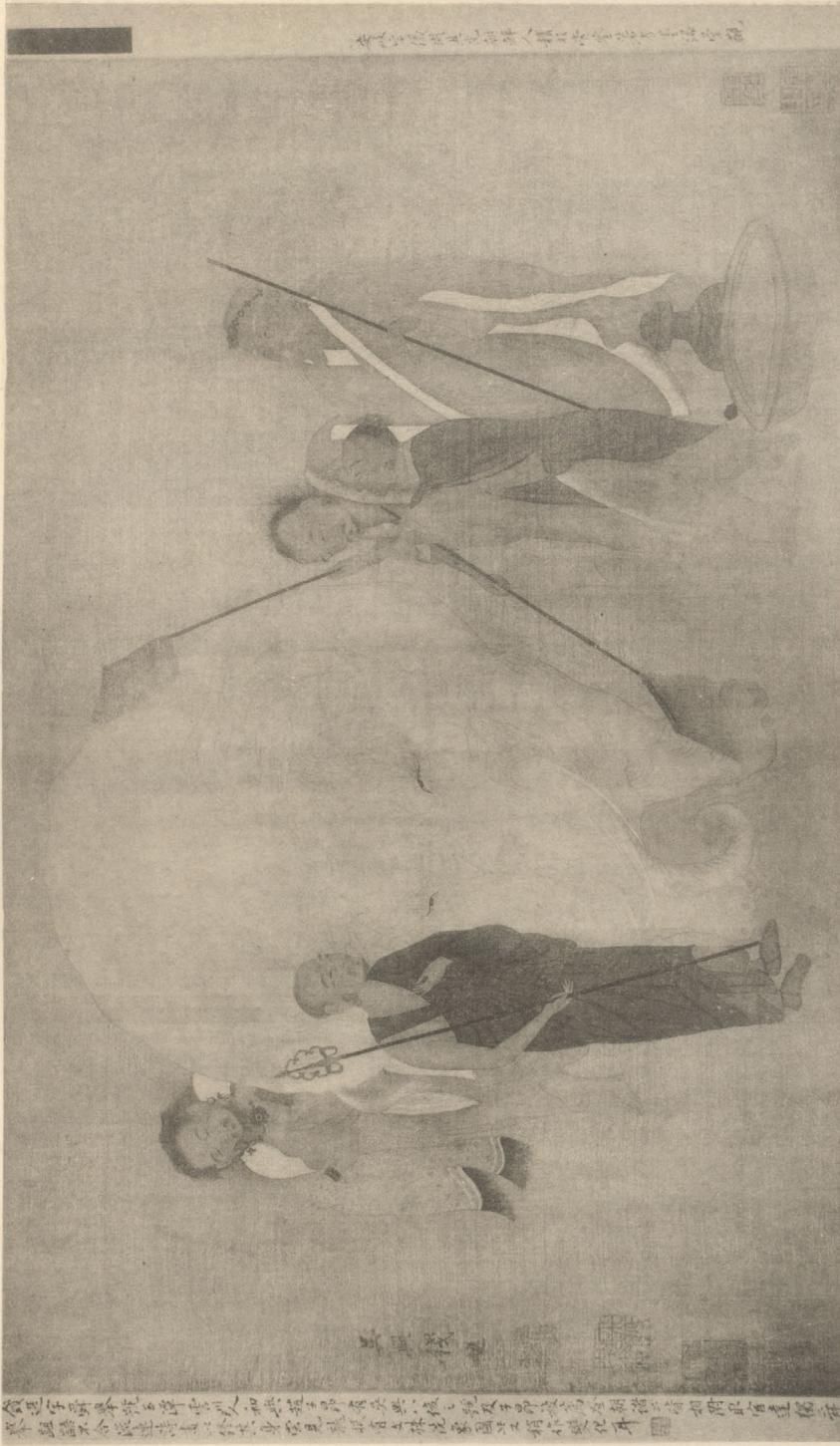
Ni Tsan said of the four painters, Chao Mêng-fu, Kao K'o-kung, Huang Kung-wang, and Wang Mêng, that they were the four masters of the Yüan dynasty, but the critics of the middle and latter part of the Ming dynasty made a new classification of these painters and included the name of Ni Tsan among the six great painters of that dynasty. The other was Wu Chên. Ni Tsan was a peculiar character. Born to wealth and good position, he cared nothing for the pleasures of social life and preferred to wander alone in the hills, conversing with priests and recluses. His wanderings were chiefly in the southern part of Kiangsu Province in the lakes and hills near Soochow. He called himself "The Recluse of the Clouds and Forests" (*Yün Lin Chü Shih*), and also "The Extravagant, Reckless, and Unrestrained Scholar" (*T'sang Lang Man Shih*). He was known among friends as *Ni Yü*, i.e., "the impractical Ni." His personal name was Ni Yüan-chêñ. He was welcomed as a friend to the homes of the large number of literary men who lived in the neighborhood of Soochow at that time, and nearly all of his paintings are dedicated to some one of these with whom he happened to be staying at the time. Practically all of these pictures have annotations by the artist and are signed and dated by him. They are all in black and white, after the general style of Mi Fei, but with greater freedom and boldness. His perspectives more nearly approach Western ideas than those of any other Chinese artist. He was a prolific worker and left a large number of paintings. The *Shih Ku T'ang* devotes one whole volume (XX) to this artist, describing about forty of his pictures.

Ni Tsan 2
died 1374.
(1301-1374)

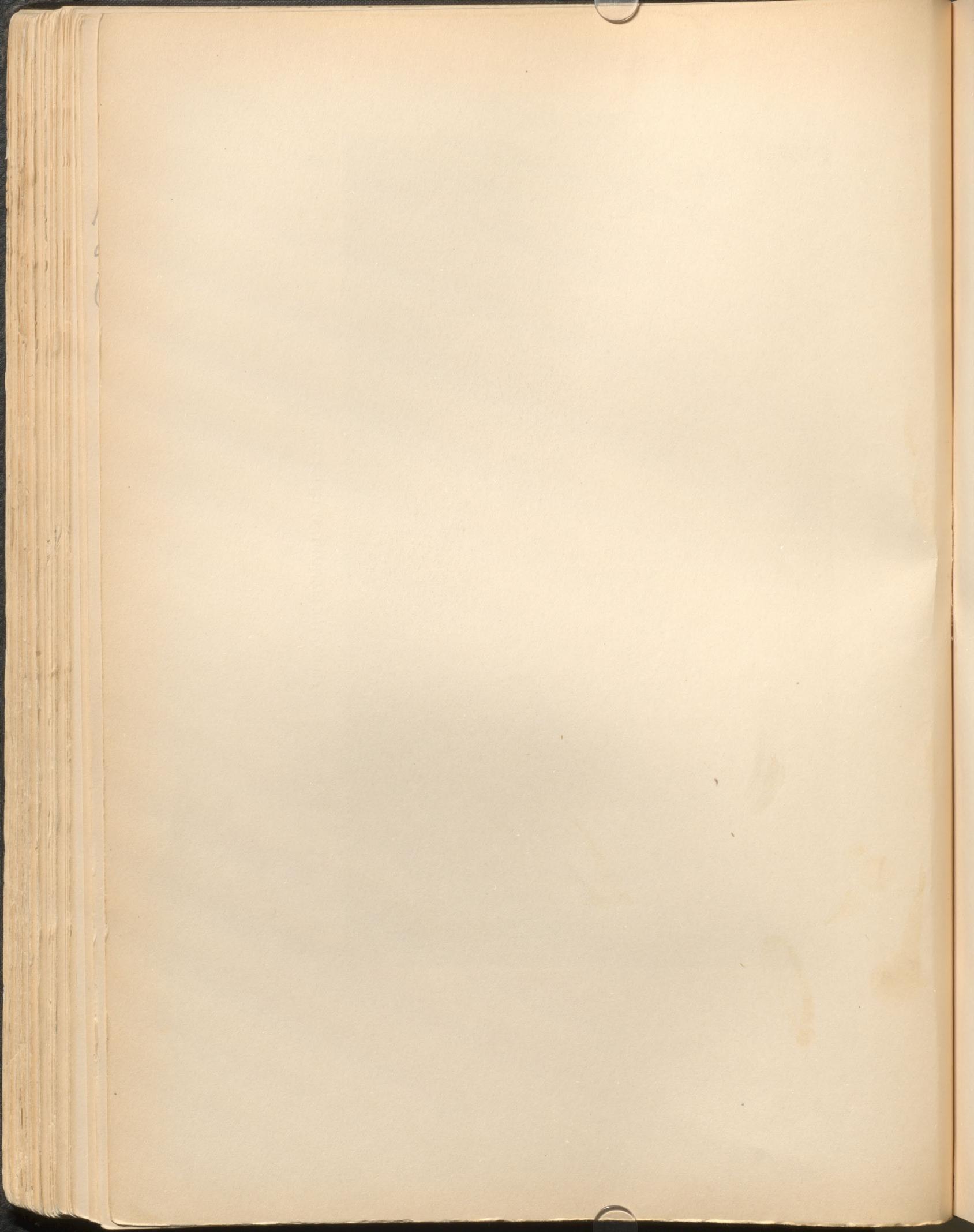
One of his most famous paintings is "The Lion Grove" (*Ssu-tzü Ling T'u Ping T'i*). This was a villa established by the Zen priest, T'ien-ju, in 1342. Twenty-one years later Chu Tê-jun painted a picture of it when it was occupied by a disciple of T'ien-ju. Ni Tsan painted it during the eighth year of Hung Wu, 1385, one year before his death. In 1386 it was painted again by Hsü Pên. This grove is situated to the northwest of Soochow, and contained some remarkable stones, the faces of which are said to have resembled gargoyle. The villa is inclosed with a rude fence. The front of the main room is open, disclosing an altar with an image of P'u-t'i. In a long covered passageway leading to a bamboo grove an old priest is seated. Between the entrance gate and the main hall there are several pine and willow trees, and to the left a prunus tree. In the back of the picture among the rocks is an inclosed pavilion, evidently meant as a place of quiet retreat for the priest. This picture was highly prized by the Emperor Ch'ien Lung, who wrote on the face of the picture several annotations, and, as was usual with this emperor in the case of paintings which he prized, he has covered almost every available space with his seals.

Wu Chên is known also as Wu Chung-kuei and by his pen name "Recluse of Plum Flowers" (*Mei Hua Tao Jén*). He painted during the closing days of the Yüan dynasty and lived on into the Ming. He was a scholarly painter in the same class as Huang Kung-wang and Wang Mêng, fond of calligraphic brush strokes. He annotated his own paintings, but in his comments disclosed little of his own personality or methods. His notes are empty exhibitions of his literary attainments. He excelled as a bamboo painter, although he also attempted landscapes. Most of his work was done on paper as this medium, being absorbent, was better adapted than silk for heavy brush strokes. A specimen of his work which I have seen, however, is on silk, dated the twelfth year of Chih Chêng (A.D. 1353). It is a painting of bamboos, each stem and leaf of which seemed to be in a different position. The neutral brown color of the silk brings out the rich tones of the well-saturated ink.

In following the usual Chinese classification under which the foregoing six artists are ranked as the greatest painters of the Yüan dynasty, I do not



WASHING THE ELEPHANT, BY CH'IEN HSÜAN



mean to imply that this is wholly satisfactory. There can be no doubt that Chao Mêng-fu, Kao K'o-kung, and Ni Tsan deserve the place that has been given to them solely on the basis of their excellence as artists. The inclusion of the other three artists, Huan Kung-wang, Wang Mêng, and Wu Chên, has been largely based upon the excellence of their calligraphic brush strokes and their adherence to prevailing literary standards. Their paintings show but few traces of spontaneity, and they were confined to such subjects as could be expressed by the brush strokes commonly used in writing. I quite agree with some later critics who prefer the works of Ch'ien Hsüan, Ts'ao Chih-pai, and Shêng Mou to those of these artists, and would have preferred their names included among the six great masters of the Yüan dynasty to those of Huang Kung-wang, Wang Mêng, and Wu Chên.

Ch'ien Hsüan, also called Ch'ien Shun-chü, was a contemporary of Chao Mêng-fu, but, unlike him, was unwilling to attach himself to the court of the Yüan dynasty. Rather than accept position under the enemies who had destroyed the Southern Sung dynasty under which he was born, he rejected the offers that were made to him, and chose to live in retirement. As an artist he shows many more characteristics of the Southern Sung than of the Yüan dynasty. His work may be likened to that of Chao Mêng-chien in its careful workmanship, coupled with brilliant imagination. His "Birds Coming to Gardenia Trees" (*Lai Ch'ing Chih Tzü*) is a delicately colored scroll on paper, and was formerly in the collection of An I-chou. In an annotation Chao Mêng-fu praises the mysterious beauty of this scroll. I have often seen it and fully confirm this opinion. The freedom of conception is as noteworthy as the strength of his brush lines. Another famous scroll is "Home Again" (*Kuei Chü Lai*). In this scroll the artist depicts the return of T'ao Ch'ien to his home. He is standing in a boat, approaching a landing near which his wife is seen in the doorway with her two children waiting for their father. Overspreading the courtyard are five large willow trees, the green coloring of which, mixed with the delicate shades of the clothes, blends into a beautiful scene. On the face of this scroll is a poem by the artist and also an annotation by the Emperor Ch'ien Lung. The original poem from which the subject is taken is transcribed in an annotation by Hsien-yu

Ch'ü. This scroll is in the Metropolitan Museum, and is a much finer piece of work than the picture by the same artist exhibited in the Government Museum, called "Lu T'ung Drawing Tea" (*Lu T'ung P'êng Ch'a*). The most beautiful specimen in the Government Museum of this artist's work is "The Mountain Residence" (*Shan Chü T'u*), but not having seen it, I can only trust to the verbal report of a friend, who was also familiar with the "Home Again" scroll, that it is quite as beautiful.

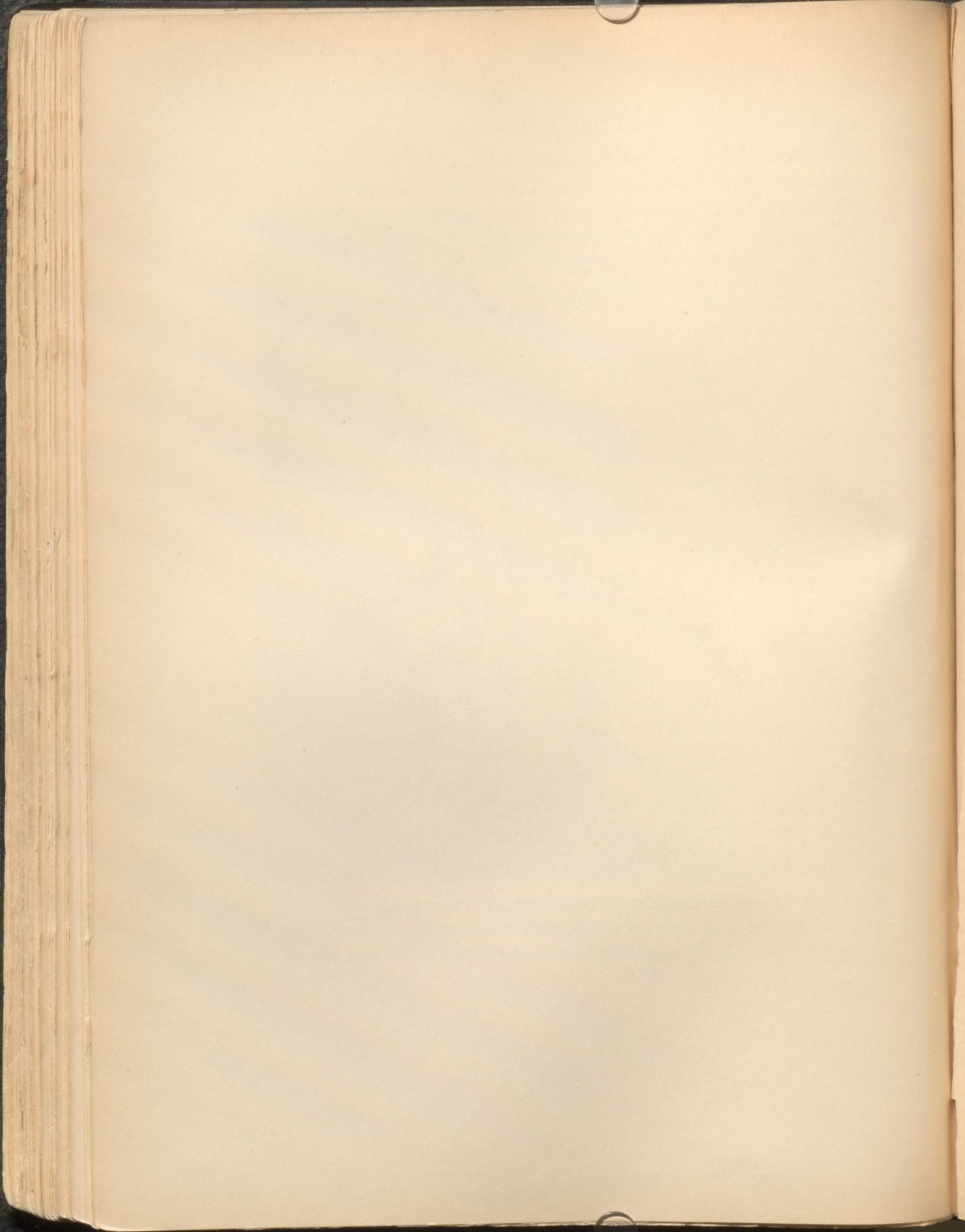
Ts'ao Chih-pai, also known as Yün Hsi Lao Jên, came into prominence during the reign of Kublai Khan. He was a native of Hua-t'ing, Kiangsu Province, and was director of education at K'un-shan, but retired on account of his dislike of public life. He painted in the style of Fêng Ch'in of the Northern Sung, but all that is known of the master is the work of his disciple. Ts'ao Chih-pai worked chiefly in black and white. His brush strokes were thin but bold, and these were used to perfection in his delineation of the needles of pine trees. One of his best works, now in the Government Museum, Peking, is "A Pavilion on the Liang Ch'ang Hill" (*Liang Ch'ang Shan Kuan*). Two pine trees fill the center of this small painting, and on either side of them is a smaller tree. Under the pines is a small, open pavilion with thatched roof. It is a charming scene. Liang Ch'ang is a hill in Chin-t'an near the borders of Kü-jung about fifty miles west of Ch'ang-chou in Kiangsu Province. Ts'ao Chih-pai is entirely free from the Sung dynasty conventions, and his method of painting is similar to that later adopted by Ni Tsan. His painting of "The Three Friends," i.e., pine, bamboo, and plum, is a hanging picture of noble design and bold execution.

Wang Chên-p'êng, known also as "The Recluse of the Orphan Clouds" (*Ku Yün Ch'u Shih*), was a great favorite at the court of Jên Tsung (Arzuli Palpata), 1311-20. He was a colorist who worked after the approved conventions of the Southern Sung dynasty. His scroll, "Family Training" (*Yang Chén T'u*), depicts ten historical scenes in the lives of ten noted men—Wên Wang, Ch'êng Wang, Chin Wên Kung, Confucius, P'ang Tsan, Wei Chao, T'ai Tsung of the T'ang dynasty, Han Hsiu, Fan Yün, T'ai Tsu of the Sung dynasty. The incidents depicted are too numerous to be given in detail but are all described in an annotation written by the great scholar, Chieh

元曹知白字又元列觀雲西華亭人至元中為崑山教師後辭去隱居諸易山水師馮魏清氣可愛每放筆圖畫城
都長嘯人莫窺其際見書史會要及松江志



A PAVILION ON THE LIANG CH'ANG HILL, BY TS'AO CHIH-PAI



Hsi-ssü, who was a contemporary of the artist. There are also annotations by Sung Lien (1310-81), and Shén Tu of the Yung Lo period. This scroll, which is in the Metropolitan Museum, is an excellent specimen of the style of Wang Chén-p'êng. There is another scroll of this artist which I have seen, called "The Gathering of the Immortals in the Jade Grotto" (*Yü Tung Chün Hsien*). The immortals are depicted in various phases of their life in their happy paradise (*fu ti*). Some are conversing, some are playing games, while others are disporting themselves eating and drinking. The variegated coloring of the trees and rocks was not excelled by Chao Po-chü of whose painting that of Wang Chén-p'êng is a constant reminder. Wang Chén-p'êng was also a distinguished painter of measured pictures (*chieh hua*), of which the best specimen is in the Government Museum, Peking, but I have never seen it. It is called "The Chin Ming Pond" (*Chin Ming Ch'ih*). This was the name of a famous park about three miles in circumference outside of the Shun-chih gate of the capital city of K'aifêng when it was the seat of the Northern Sung dynasty. Every year after the first day of the third moon there were chariot races in this park which attracted large crowds of the wealthy classes. The pavilions and buildings in this picture are all drawn to scale.

Shêng Mou (Shêng Tzü-chao) continued painting until a ripe old age. I have seen one of his early paintings, dated during the autumn of the second year of Huang Ch'ing, i.e., 1313, and *Shih Ku T'ang* mentions another painting, dated the fifth year of Chih Chêng (A.D. 1345). At first he painted with the spontaneity which was characteristic of the best painters of this dynasty, but later he followed more and more closely the Sung conventions. His black-and-white landscapes on paper are better than the colored ones, which he usually painted on silk. He also made many album pictures; indeed, his best work was done in small-sized paintings.

K'o Chiu-ssü (K'o Tan-ch'iu or K'o Ching-chung) was a great scholar as well as an artist. In his painting of bamboos he was the equal of Wu Chên, and as a landscapist he followed the same general style as Ni Tsan, but had little of his subtlety. I have a landscape by K'o dated 1352, in which the mountains are painted in the style of Kuo Hsi. I have also seen in the

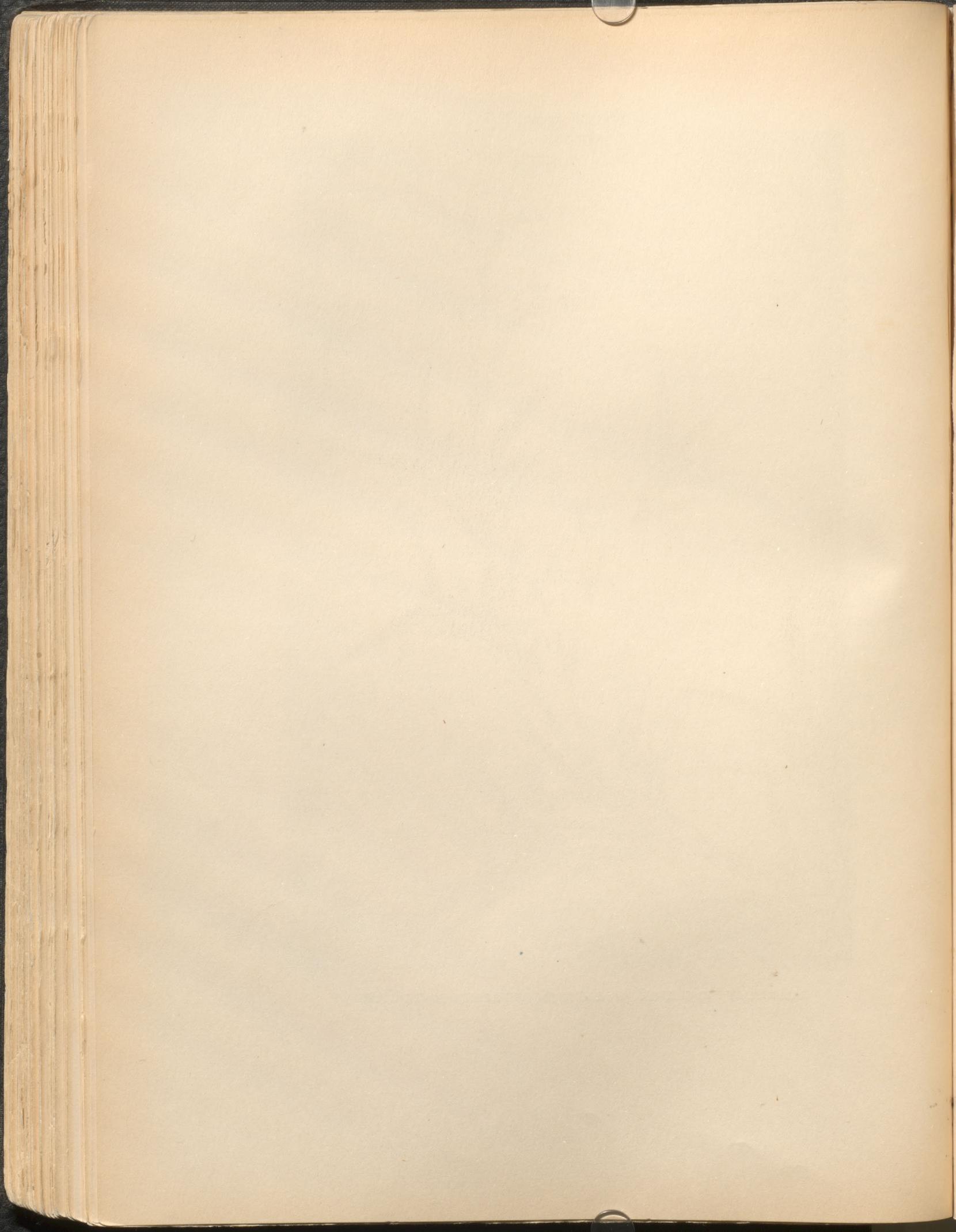
collection of Ching Hsien an album of his beautiful black-and-white bamboo paintings.

Wang Yüan, whose appellation was Jo-shui, held the same place in this dynasty as Chao Ch'ang in the Northern Sung. He is a painter of delightful pictures of flowers and birds, as can be seen from the reproductions of some of his paintings in *Kokka* (Nos. 56, 157, and 173). One of the albums in the Metropolitan Museum contains a rabbit painted by him. Wang Yüan painted in order to give pleasure, and his work is therefore natural. He seems to have had no ambition to attempt to paint historic subjects or to use the brush strokes of calligraphy. He loved nature, but it was the nature of parks and gardens, not that of the rugged mountains. He studied all of the great masters, such as Kuo Hsi for landscape and Chou Fang for human figures, but was chiefly influenced by Huang Ch'üan. It was largely due to Wang Yüan that the painting of birds and flowers was transmitted from the Sung to the Ming dynasty.

Taken as a whole, the pictorial art of the Yüan dynasty has more in common with that of the Tang than with that of the Sung. It reflects the freer spirit of the Mongols. Several critics summarize the difference between the Sung and Yüan types as that of convention and spontaneity (*Sung Li Yüan Ch'ü*). It is certain that the Sung painters were surrounded with an atmosphere of literary and philosophic discussion which tended to cause them to establish fixed canons for their own work. The Yüan dynasty is characterized by internal commotion and external aggression which left artists perfectly free to choose their own methods. It was moreover a short-lived dynasty, lasting only about ninety years. It is a striking tribute to the artistic talents of the nation that so many good artists arose during that period of military activity.



BAMBOO, BY K'O CHIU-SSU. A LEAF FROM THE ALBUM OF CHING HSIEN



XI

PAINTERS OF THE MING DYNASTY

THE short life of an alien dynasty left to the Chinese people the single legacy of a more profound belief in their own civilization.

What little government the Mongols were able to exercise after Kublai Khan seemed to be bent upon extracting from China money and pleasure. Everywhere there was lawless seizing of persons and property, accompanied by fruitless efforts to throw off the abominable misrule of the barbarian foreigner. Among the important revolting leaders was Kuo Tzü-hsing who raised a force in the country which now forms the northeastern part of Anhui Province near the Pengpu railway station. On Kuo's death in 1355 he was succeeded by Chu Yüan-chang, his lieutenant, who had been in early life a Buddhist priest. Campaigns in the adjoining provinces were extended southward to Fukien and Canton Provinces and northward in direct attack upon the Mongols under generals Hsü Ta and Fêng Shêng. In 1367 the last Mongol sovereign, Tohan Temur, fled from Peking to Dolonor, and the following year Chu Yüan-chang proclaimed himself emperor at Nanking. It was several years later before Ssü-ch'uan on the west and Yünnan on the southwest were brought under the sway of the new dynasty which had taken the name of Ming; but from the first year of his accession there was little doubt that the credit for having expelled the Mongols made secure the possession of the imperial sway by Chu Yüan-chang and his descendants. The northern tribes had threatened the disruption of China from the first years of the Northern Sung, and the conviction that they had been effectually conquered by Chu Yüan-chang led to a revival of nationalism such as had not been known since the early years of the T'ang dynasty.

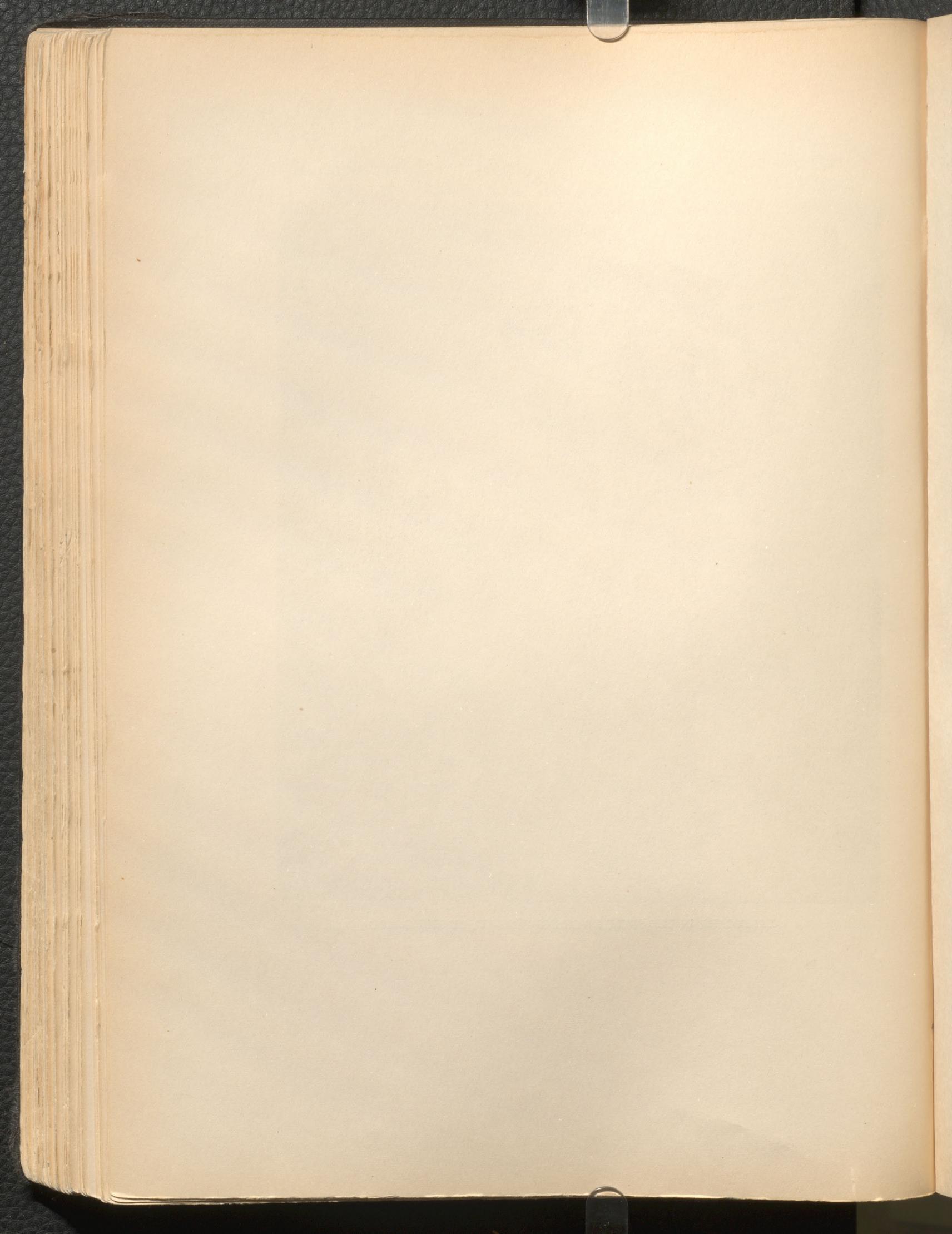
This new nationalistic spirit was reflected in literature by the reinstating of the classical scholarship as interpreted by the scholars of the Northern Sung dynasty led by Chu Hsi. Following the example of the Sung dynasty

the emperor revived the practice, known as *Ching I*, of selecting the themes for civil-service examinations from the Four Books and Five Classics. Only a century passed before this system became still more crystallized, and in 1486, during the twenty-third year of the Emperor Ch'êng Hua, the "eight-legged essay," as it is popularly known, was fixed as the standard for examination. This type of essay was entirely conventional and stifled all originality of thought or expression even though it promoted elegance of literary finish. The dominating influence toward conformity and conventionality in literature was reflected immediately in art. Here the freedom of the Yüan was soon lost, and artists followed writers in harking back to the standards of the Sung. In brushwork and in the use of color the artists of this new dynasty equaled, if not indeed surpassed, any of their predecessors, but they surely were not creators of any new style. The spirit of the age was against any originality on their part.

The great artists of the Ming dynasty, Shên Chou, T'ang Yin, Wên Chêng-ming, and Ch'iu Ying, were all from the small district centering around Soochow. They eclipsed men from the northern part of the country along the basin of the Yellow River where in earlier dynasties culture had its home. They were the inheritors of the traditions of the Southern Sung artists when the capital was at Hangchow. Ma Ho-chih, Hsia Kuei, Liu Sung-nien, Fang Ch'un-nien, and Li Sung of the Southern Sung all came from the districts along the Ch'ien T'ang River near Hangchow. The influence of this group of men persisted during the Yüan dynasty, and can be seen in the work of Ni Tsan (a native of Wu-sih), of Ch'ien Hsüan (a native of Hangchow), of Huang Kung-wang (a native of Ch'ang-shuh), of Wu Chên (a native of Chia-hsing), and of K'o Chiu-ssü (a native of T'ai-chow). Even the great Yüan artist, Chao Mêng-fu, scion of the Sung imperial family, made his home at Hangchow where his work continued that of two earlier scions, Chao Po-chü and Chao Po-su. The rugged independent artists such as Hsü Tao-ning from Hsi-an in Shensi, Mi Fei from Hsiang-yang in Hupeh, Li Kung-lin from Shu-ch'êng in Anhui, and Su Shih from Mei-chow in Ssü-ch'uan were replaced by men of gentle culture from the materially prosperous districts which are now included in Kiangsu and Chekiang Provinces;



A LANDSCAPE, IN THE STYLE OF CHANG SÊNG-YU, BY SHÊNG MOU



and the change is reflected in the more refined but less original qualities of the paintings which they produced.

Shên Chou (1427-1509) in point of time and in quality of work stands at the head of the list of Ming dynasty painters. He is usually spoken of as Shên Shih-t'ien but is also known as Shên Ch'i-nan and Pai Shih Wêng. He inherited from his father, Shên Hêng-chi, and from his uncle, Shên Chêng-chi, a love for the brush as well as a passion for poetry. At eleven years of age he went on a trip to the provincial capital and presented a poem of a hundred lines to Governor Ts'u Kung. The governor was much surprised at its excellence and at once set a subject for another poem which Shên Chou wrote off, whereupon the governor said that he would call the attention of the court to his unusual talents. Shên Chou at this early age declined the offer, as he had already decided to lead a quiet life of retirement and to care for his parents. While he became well known among the famous literary men of the country, he contrived to take no part in the social life of his city. It is narrated that a new city magistrate who knew nothing of Shên's fame desired to have the wall of his study painted, and Shên Chou did the work as a contribution to the public good. Later the magistrate on a visit to the provincial capital was asked by the governor if Mr. Shên was well and without realizing who this person was, he replied in the affirmative. The magistrate went on to Peking for audience, and on seeing the prime minister, the famous Li Tung-yang, was again asked concerning Mr. Shên. The magistrate made an evasive reply but hurried to Wu K'uan to inquire who this Mr. Shên was concerning whom frequent inquiries were being made, and discovered that he was the one who had painted his wall for him at Ch'ang-chow and who lived so quietly that he had not known of his existence. Shên Chou was a queer person. He allowed his beard to grow without trimming, and is said to have looked like a mountain hermit, especially as he had greenish-gray eyes (*pi-yen*), a term often applied in description of Europeans.

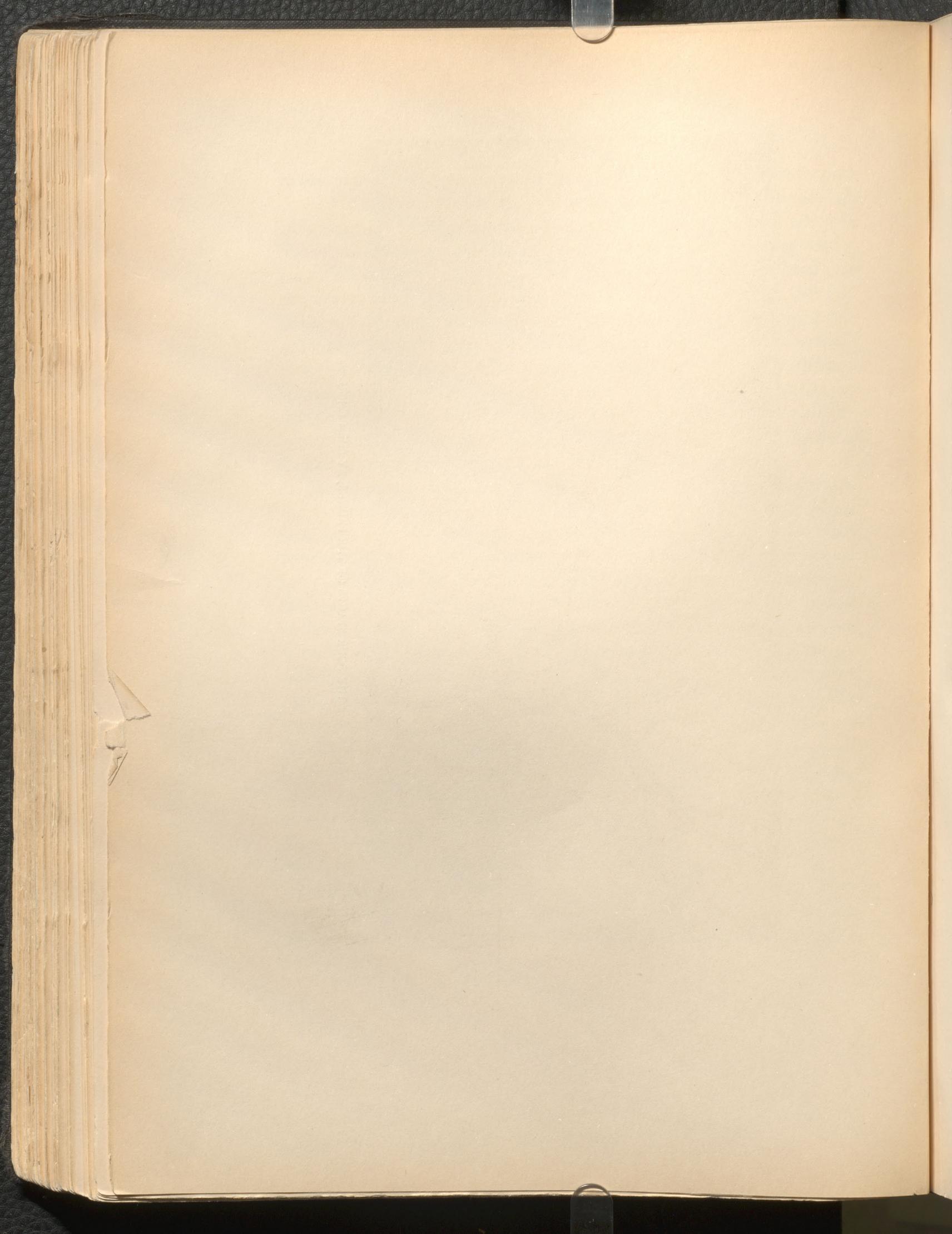
A scroll, "The Four Stages of the Prunus" (*Ssü Shih Mei Hua*), illustrates the style and temper of Shên Chou. The four stages of the development and decay of prunus blossoms are described in preludes written in the

beautiful handwriting and graceful literary style of the artist. The first stage is the leafless branch before the blossoms open, the next is when they are bursting, the third is the period of full bloom, and the last is the falling of the petals as the blossoms fade. It is difficult to decide which to admire most, the calligraphy and diction of the preludes or the naked beauty of the four paintings. They combine to reveal Shên Chou as poet, calligraphist, and artist. In each of these roles he is recognized as a master, and this scroll may therefore be rightly considered as a characteristic specimen of his work. It has comments by Wu K'uan and Tung Ch'i-ch'ang written in their best penmanship. In his comment Wu K'uan refers to the artist as a recluse, using the peculiar term *ch'an-tang* to describe him as being meditative in the style of a Buddhist priest. This scroll is an interpretation of one by Yang Pu-chih of the Sung dynasty, made by Shên Chou in early life.

There is a large landscape more than ten feet in height by this artist in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, in the bold, careless style of his later years. His biography states that he did not commence to paint these large pictures until after he was forty years of age and that earlier he painted only small ones. On the face of this long painting in the Metropolitan Museum is a poem of four lines written by the artist in which he praises seclusion from the world as typified by the landscape which he depicted. In such a scene he could lean against a tree and watch the clouds float by without fear of anyone coming to converse with him. In contrast to the coarse brushwork of this large picture I have seen in the collection of Hsi Pao-ch'êñ, Peking, a smaller painting called "Deciduous Maples along the Wu River" (*Féng Lo Wu Chiang*), done in delicate, fine lines. It is the most beautiful example of the work of Shên Shih-t'ien that I have ever seen. Chang Chün-li has a scroll similar to the "Four Stages of the Prunus," in its exhibition both of the writing and painting ability of this artist. Yang Yin-po has the "Lotus Pavilion" scroll (*Ho Hsiang T'ing T'u Chüan*), which is described by Chang Ch'ou in *Ch'ing-bo Shu Hua Fang*. It is a worthy example of the best work of this artist. Another specimen of the refined, thin lines of Shên Chou is the "Studying" picture (*Chiao Shih Tu Shu*), in which an aged scholar is seen sitting by a large stone on which he



THE FOUR STAGES OF THE PRUNUS, BY SHĒN CHOU



has written. At his side is a lad with an open book in his hands. Behind the stone is a banana tree with its fresh green leaves, and opposite it is another stone around which lilies are growing. This picture is about three and a half feet high and about fifteen inches in width.

T'ang Yin (1466-1524), also known as T'ang Tzü-wei and more frequently as T'ang Po-hu or T'ang Lu-ju, was also a scholar and artist of the same general type as Shên Chou. He was a native of Soochow, and at an earlier age stood at the head of the list of interprovincial graduates at Nanking as Chiai Yüan, and on account of this success sometimes used a seal of four characters, *Nan Ching Chiai Yüan*, meaning "head graduate at Nanking." His style both in writing and painting was more refined and less vigorous than that of Shên Chou, but the deficiency in strength was compensated by the superiority of his model. T'ang Yin patterned after the style of Li T'ang of the Southern Sung, whereas Shên Chou followed the traditions of Huang Kung-wang and Wang Meng of the Yüan dynasty; there can be no doubt that Li T'ang was a much greater artist than Huang or Wang. It is therefore difficult to appraise what should be the relative standing of Shên Chou and T'ang Yin, and I am inclined to place them on a parity. Probably both suffered from an overestimate of their abilities which prevented them from the triumphs, and possible humiliation, of experiment. They trod the safe and sane paths of traditional achievement, and both went far along this honored road. T'ang Yin could have traveled no other, but I always feel in seeing the work of Shên Chou that he had in him greater talents than he would allow to function on account of his fear of going beyond the bounds approved by literary tradition. He cared nothing for social standards, and it is a pity that he allowed himself to be circumscribed too closely by literary and artistic bounds; otherwise he might have been among the greatest of China's artists. On the other hand, T'ang Yin was a conformist by nature and took kindly to the guiding hand of former masters. His instincts led him to select good leadership but not to strike off into new paths.

T'ang Yin copied one of the religious paintings of Li Kung-lin and renamed it "Feasting the Fairies" (*Yin Hsien T'u*). He painted palace ladies in the style of Chou Fang. His landscapes were modeled after those of Li

Ssü-hsün, and his flowers remind one of Tiao Kuang-yin. I have seen two of his flower paintings, one of chrysanthemums (*Chü Shih Chou*), in the collection of Wang Hsiang-shu, and one of peonies (*Ché Chih Mo Mu Tan*), owned by Kuo Shih-wu. Both are beautiful and lovable. So also is the small hanging picture of the "Peach Blossom Retreat" (*Tao Hua Ang*) belonging to Ch'en Chi-lio. I have seen in the collection of P'ang Lai-ch'en, Shanghai, a long, narrow picture of bird life which was formerly in Ch'ien Lung's palace. It is called "Starlings on an Old Tree" (*Ku Ch'a Chü Ko*) and depicts a starling singing its happy song with outstretched neck while perched on the branch of an old tree overgrown with a spreading vine. The artist has written two lines of poetry on the face of his picture:

In lonely hills no human voice is heard,
Spring's bounteous rain comes at the call of bird.

All of the paintings which I have mentioned are done on white paper resembling parchment. Another large picture five and a half feet high and a foot and a half wide which I have seen is on silk and depicts a conventional autumn landscape with a lonely rider near a bridge crossing a mountain torrent on the other side of which is an old scholar in contemplation. This picture is called *Ch'iu Shan Hsün Yin*, and is dated the tenth day of the tenth moon of the fourth year of Chêng-tê (A.D. 1509). The artist states in his colophon that it illustrates the view which he had when he went to see his friend, the artist Chang Mêng-chin. The picture of the "Four Ladies" in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, was done at a later date; it is a worthy example of the characteristic work of T'ang Yin.

Wên Chêng-ming (1470-1567), whose early name was Wên Pi, is also known as Wên Chêng-chung and Wên Hêng-shan. He was a native of Ch'ang-chow, and came from distinguished ancestors, one of whom, Wên T'ien-hsiang, was ennobled as a duke in the Sung dynasty. His father, Wên Lin, attained to the highest literary degree, but died in middle life when he was prefect at Wên-chow. Wên Chêng-ming was only sixteen years of age at the time of his father's death but earned a nation-wide reputation on account of his refusal to accept a large gift of money which the people of

綠雲飛舞鳳翎長翠石棕輕搖玉
箏香舊曲不彈新瑤瑟怨悲秋
風秋雨夢瀟湘音昌唐寅

南辭

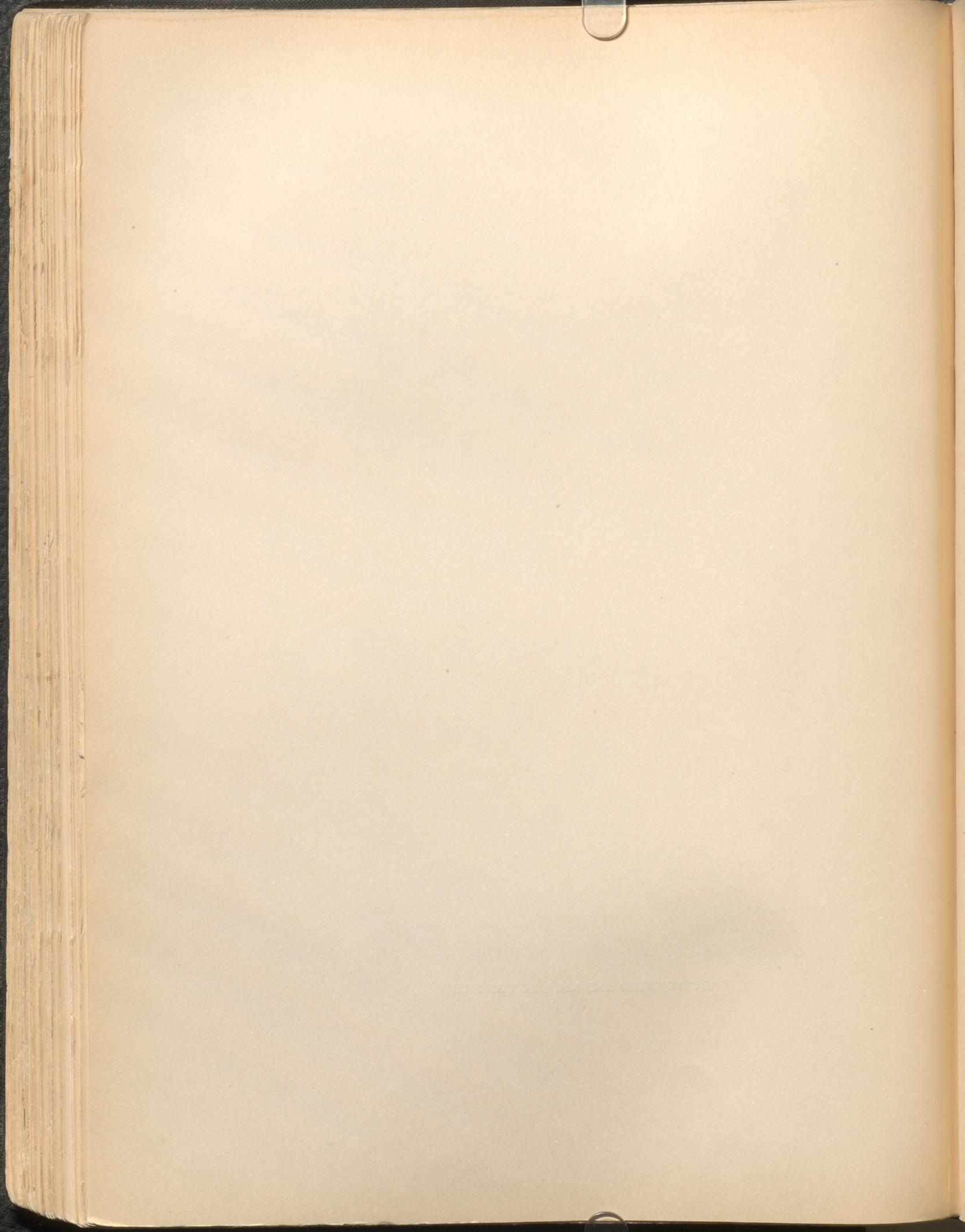
竹論幽韻不
論長風過特
閑新聲香管
紀元暉長幅
意藉本一函
是三函

治卷

印



AUTUMN WIND AND RAIN, BY T'ANG YIN



Wen-chow subscribed in honor of his father. Later he was recommended to Prince Ch'èn Hao, who sent him a letter inviting him to a position, but he declined. He passed the highest literary examination with success and became a member of the Hanlin Academy. During the latter part of the reign of Chêng Tê he entered official life and was appointed a reader in the Academy. Wên studied painting under Shên Chou, literary composition under Wu K'uan, and writing under Li Yin-chêñ, who was a noted secretary in the palace. His poems were as much sought for as his paintings. He had nothing of the recluse about his manner of life like Shên Chou and T'ang Yin, although he preserved the hauteur of a literary man by refusing to be patronized by the rich or powerful. In many respects he resembled Chao Meng-fu of whose style in painting he was a careful student. Both men were of high birth, and both combined rare literary talent with worthy artistic achievements. As might be expected from the possession of such varied talents, Wên Chêng-ming is considered as a conspicuous example of a class of painters whose works are known as "literary men's paintings" (*wén jén hua*). These emphasize the quality of brushwork rather than composition or conception, and may be correctly characterized as "calligraphic paintings" (*hsieh hua*). In composition they are likely to be cluttered, a condition conducive to the exhibition of clever brush strokes; in conception they are conventional.

A scroll painting of Ch'ih-pi accompanied by a copy of the poem on this subject was formerly in the Imperial Collection of Ch'ien Lung but was bestowed as a present upon one of his statesmen and is now owned by Yen Yün-po, Peking. The brushwork of the calligraphy and the painting shows the careful training to which Wên Chêng-ming subjected himself; it also reveals his lack of originality. Kuan Po-hêng, Peking, has a hanging landscape picture by this artist which is well executed. There are three landscapes in the Metropolitan Museum of which one is especially good. It came from the collection of Li Mei-sêng. The best specimen of Wên's work that I have seen is the landscape "Watching the Fountain under the Pine" (*Sung Hsia Kuan Ch'üan*) in the Government Museum, Peking. One finds in it nothing to criticize; it is perfect, but it is the perfection of workmanship,

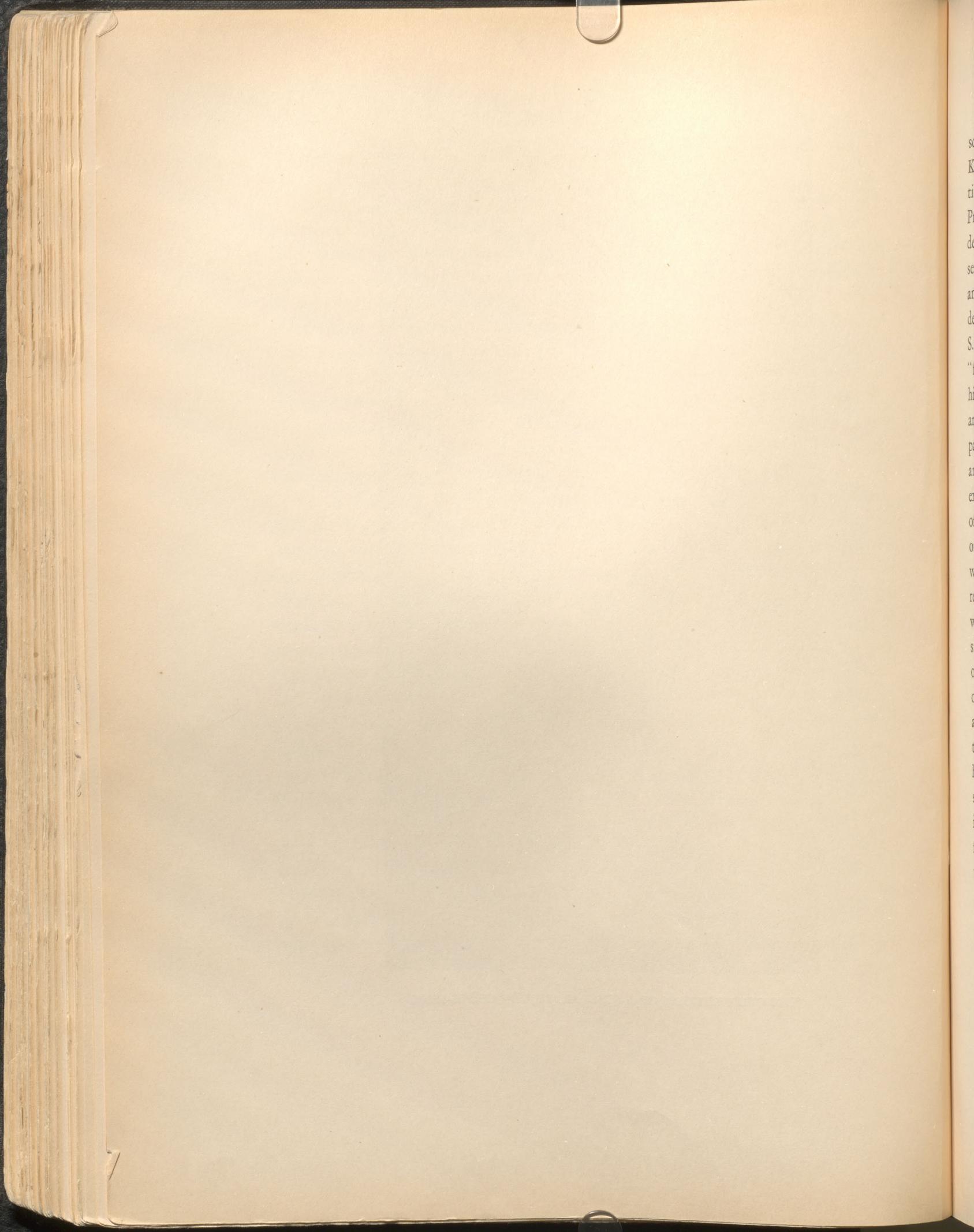
not of conception. One admires and loves it but it fails to thrill one's soul.

Wên Chêng-ming had three sons and one nephew who carried on his tradition. They were Wên P'êng, the eldest son, more commonly known as Wên San-ch'iao; Wên Chia, the second; and Wên T'ai, the third. More noted than any of his sons was his nephew Wên Po-jên, who has a painting in the Government Museum. It is a fairy sketch of Fang Hu, one of the three islands of the Happy Land. In the bluish background of the sea the island stands out partially covered with a white mist done in pearl powder. Through the mist may be seen pavilions and palaces. The delicacy of brush strokes combines with the gentleness of the color scheme to make a picture of surpassing beauty. The Metropolitan Museum has a small landscape scroll by this artist, dated 1588, which is also a good example of his graceful and delicate brushwork.

Ch'iu Ying (1522-60) was known also as Ch'iu Shih-chou and Ch'iu Shih-fu. He was a native of T'ai-ts'ang, but moved in his youth to Soochow, where he studied in the school of Chou Ch'êng in which T'ang Yin had also been a student. He came from a humble family, and had only an ordinary education. He was not at any time of his life recognized as belonging to the scholarly class and had nothing of its pedantic manner (*shu-séng*). His approach to painting was the same as that of any student in a Western school, but his remarkable talents made his progress rapid. He studied the style of ancient masters and copied carefully their paintings. Chao Po-chü, Sung dynasty, influenced him more than any other as Wang Wei had in his turn influenced Chao. It thus happens that in Ch'iu Ying we have a Ming dynasty reproduction of the style of Wang Wei as interpreted by Chao Po-chü. Ch'iu Ying was by no means only a copyist even though he generally chose conventional themes for the subjects of his paintings. The copy of Ni Tsan's portrait now in the collection of Kuo Shih-wu is probably much superior to its original; it is much more realistic than any portrait of Ni Tsan that I have ever seen. His copy of "The Western Garden" painting by Li Kung-lin is so perfect that I have wished to see the original to find out whether or not I could like it any better. His "Dancing Women" (*Wu Nü*) is a small



THE QUIET RETREAT OF A SCHOLAR, BY WÊN CHÊNG-MING



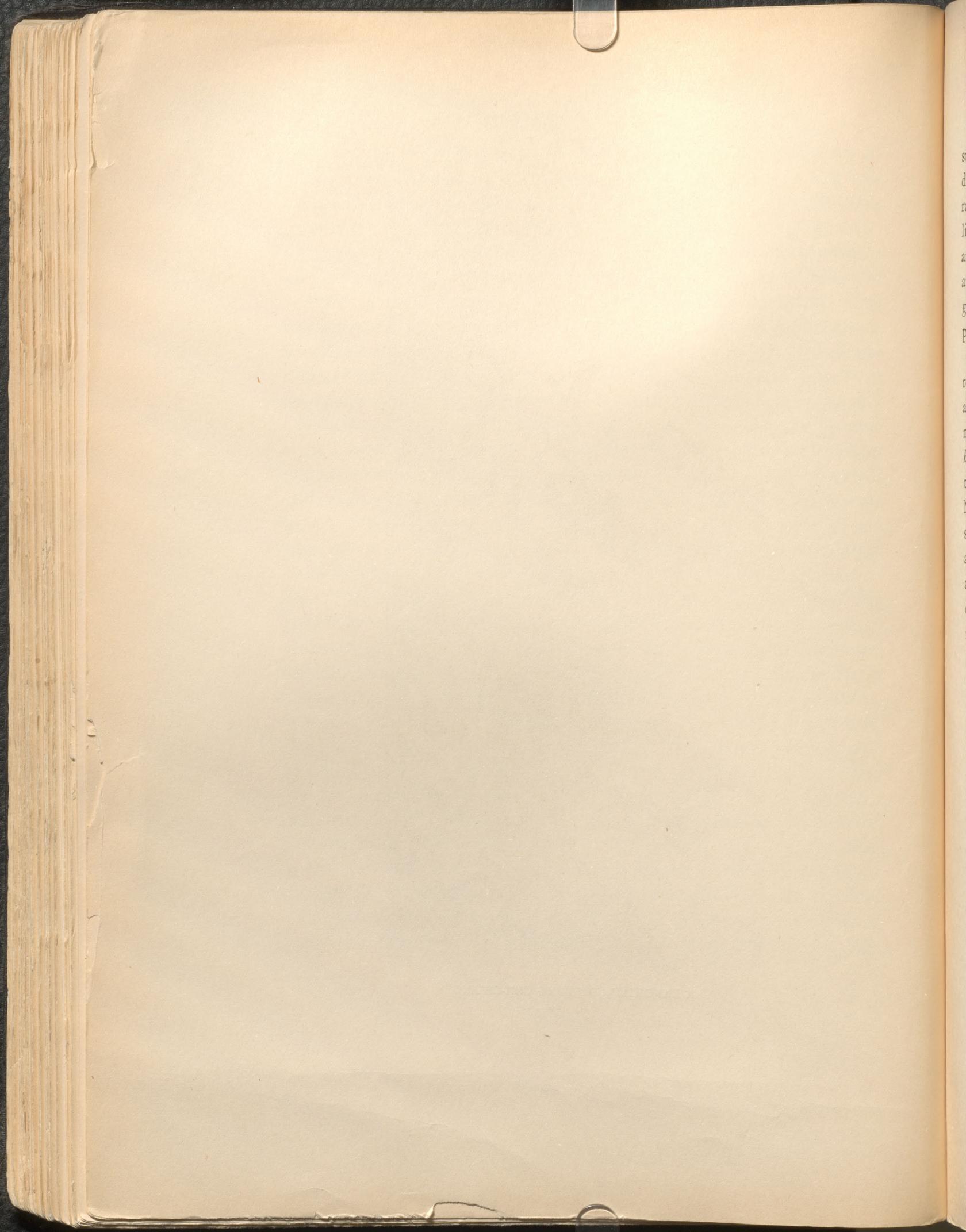
scroll formerly in the collection of Ching Hsien and now owned by King Kung-pa. His "Noted Women of Antiquity" (*Lieh Nü T'u*) was in the collection of the Emperor Ch'ien Lung, but is now owned by the former regent, Prince Ch'un. In strength of line, delicacy of execution, and perfection of detail it is not inferior to "The Nine Songs" of Li Kung-lin which I have seen in the Government Museum. Ch'iu Ying did his best work in black and white on paper, but he also painted on silk, using colors. His manual dexterity was remarkable; he would have been a genial companion to John S. Sargent, and he was not lacking in the quality described by Rossetti as "fundamental brainwork." His style conformed to the best traditions of his race, but he acquired and used it in such a way that among all Chinese artists he is the one of whom it is most easy to write in terms of Western painting. This is for the reason that he was primarily and exclusively an artist. His was not a case of the artistic talent growing alongside of literary excellence or beautiful penmanship; we must judge him only by the quality of his painting. In this respect he is different from other painters, not only of the Ming dynasty, but of all periods of Chinese pictorial art. If one wishes to speak of arrangement, taste, drawing, quality of colors used, relative importance of subject, and treatment, one can use familiar terms when writing of Ch'iu Ying for the reason that one is dealing with the simple characteristics of a painter, not with the complex attainments of men in whom painting was only one feature. I refer, of course, to his own genuine paintings, not to the hundreds of spurious ones to be found in all parts of the country. No artist's work has been so much forged and imitated as Ch'iu Ying's, not even Chao Mêng-fu. This is in itself a tribute to his work. The Metropolitan Museum has a good example of his painting on silk. It represents a charming woman emerging from a bamboo grove, and is called a "Classic Gem" (*Wén Yü T'u*). This painting was formerly in the famous collection of Kêng Hsin-kung, eleven of whose seals are impressed upon it.

But we must revert to the scholar-artist type. Ch'iu Ying was unique. Tung Ch'i-ch'ang (1555-1636), also called Tung Hsüan-tsai and Tung Ssü-po, took the highest literary degree in the metropolitan examinations

at Peking, and in official life rose to be president of the Board of Ceremonial Rites. He was a native of Hua-t'ing in the prefecture of Sung-kiang near Shanghai, and lived during the last troublous years of the Ming when the glory of the Wan Li period had passed, and the empire was crumbling under the fierce attacks of the Manchu tribes. He resembled Wên Chêng-ming in many respects; both were scholars and poets as well as calligraphists and painters. At the same time they held high official positions. As artists, their training had been acquired first in the mastery of the brush strokes necessary for good penmanship. They had access to the early paintings of their numerous friends, and both diligently studied the style of the great Sung-Yüan masters by reproducing their pictures. He admired Huang Kung-wang, and I have seen two Tung pictures on which he notes that they were in that artist's style. One of these is in Peking in the collection of Kuan Po-hêng, and the other is in the Metropolitan Museum. He also reproduced the style of Fang Fang-hu, and there is a landscape painting of this kind in the collection of Yen Yün-po, Peking. Perhaps the style of Mi Fei with its ink upon ink satisfied him better than any other. Yang Yin-po has a beautiful scroll by Tung in Mi's style, and there is also a similar one in the Metropolitan Museum; both are good examples of strong, free brush strokes. But it must be noted that Tung Ch'i-ch'ang reproduced the styles of all early artists, as may be seen in the large album of paintings frequently exhibited in the Government Museum, Peking. These reproductions are done in coarse strokes (*ts'u pi*), but with meticulous attention to details. P'ang Lai-ch'êñ, Shanghai, has an album of reproductions (*fang ku*) which is even finer than that in the Museum, for it is executed in fine, delicate lines (*kung pi*). In Mr. P'ang's album various widely different styles are imitated. The first is that of Li Kung-lin in his picture "Lu Hung's Thatched House" (*Lu Hung Ts'ao T'ang*); the second is that of the gentle style of Yen Wên-kuei; the third is of Wang Mêng; and the fourth of Ni Tsan. The fifth, that of Hsü Tao-ning, is an excellent painting worthy of being classed as an original. It is a landscape with an old scholar sitting in his lonely hut. Mr. P'ang has another album by this artist which is equally good. In fact, Tung's painting is of such high order that his name is sometimes sub-



A LANDSCAPE, BY TUNG CH'I-CH'ANG



stituted for that of Ch'iu Ying as one of the four great masters of the Ming dynasty, though he is by no means as good a painter as Ch'iu Ying. This rank is given to Tung out of respect for his wonderful talents as a calligraphist in which he stands among the great masters. He could write in any of the three styles—regular, running, or draft. He also wrote many annotations to paintings, and these reveal him as having the qualities of a good critic. He was one of the bright ornaments of the higher life of the politically corrupt Ming dynasty.

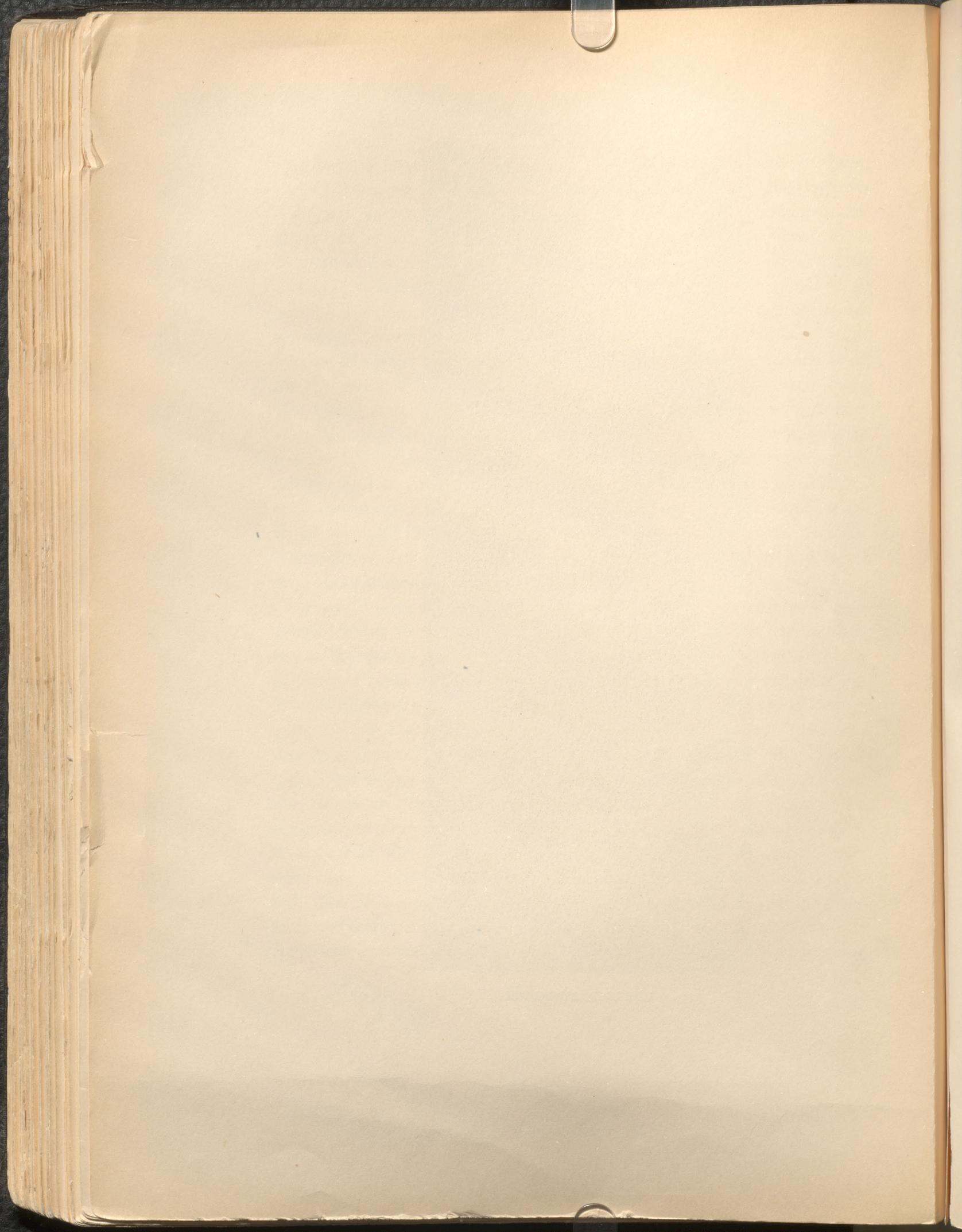
One of his great merits as far as we Westerners are concerned was his revival from oblivion of a style of painting such as is used by our own artists. It is called boneless painting (*mu ku hua*), i.e., painting which does not depend wholly upon a framework, skeleton (*ku*), of brush strokes (*pi hua*). This style is explained as referring to the free use of colors to cover the whole surface of the object depicted, these colors being true to nature. No brush strokes appear in the picture, or if there are any they are entirely subservient to color. According to Chinese standards, our Western paintings are executed in this "boneless" style. This does not mean that our pictures are considered to show an absence of drawing but simply that they are not dependent upon brush strokes to produce artistic effects. The "boneless" represent realism in painting and are in contrast to the impressionism of the usual style of Chinese artists. Tung Ch'i-ch'ang painted a landscape in the style of Yang Shêng in which he adopted this "boneless" method. He used red and green colors in depicting the landscape, giving it the appearance of being seen at sunset. This painting was in the collection of An I-chou, and in his description of it in *Mo Yüan Hui Kuan* this connoisseur makes interesting comments on the "boneless" style in landscape painting. He states that he does not think "there is any good authority for the tradition that this method can be traced back to Chang Sêng-yu of the Liang dynasty or even that Yang Shêng used it. Although during the T'ang, Sung, and Yüan dynasties traces of it occasionally appear in landscape paintings this method was used very sparingly and always in subjection to the careful, studied lines of good brushwork. Artists could not trust a free use of colors alone to produce desired effects; but in my opinion this

method must be considered to be of great merit. If it had not been for Tung Ch'i-ch'ang it would have passed into oblivion." In flower paintings the "boneless" method was followed by Huang Chü-ts'ai, Hsü Ts'ung-ssü, and Chao Ch'ang, who had no suggestion of brush strokes in some of their work but depended solely upon realistic coloring, as narrated by Kuo Jo-hsü in his *Comments*, to which book reference has been made. Kuo states that these artists "discarded entirely the six canons and considered brush-strokes of secondary importance." In the collection of Mr. Charles Deering there is the portrait of a priest by Wên Hsün which follows this method. It is fortunate for the world of letters that Tung Ch'i-ch'ang rescued it from the limbo into which it had been relegated, and we Westerners have in this case, as in the use of oil paints, an example of what might have happened in the possible development of Chinese pictorial art if the scholarly preference for calligraphy had not so thoroughly dominated the use of the brush. Drawing has ever represented the intellectual side of art as color has its emotional side; and in China artists with few exceptions have been scholars. Hence the victory of brush strokes in Chinese painting, which has developed along its own national lines.

In addition to the five painters who stand out as the greatest of Ming dynasty artists there were many others who deserve notice. The Emperor Hsüan Tê (1398-1435), known posthumously as Hsüan Tsung, excelled in the painting of birds and flowers. There are fourteen of his paintings in the Palace Collection of which I have seen two. One is "Lotuses and Willows" (*Sung Yin Lien P'u*), and the other is "Abundant Crops" (*Chia Ho*). Both of these paintings have rich, delicate coloring and exhibit much refinement of taste. This emperor died at such an early age that his best talents had not time to mature. Ting Yün-p'êng, known also as Ting Nan-yü, lived in the sixteenth century. He painted figures, Buddhistic subjects, and landscapes. He copied the style of Wu Tao-tzü in figures, Li Kung-lin in religious paintings, and Chao Mêng-fu in landscapes. Among his pictures which I have seen that of Kuan-yin, *Kuan Yin Pien Hsiang*, in the collection of the former Minister of Finance, Wang K'o-ming, shows the delicate lines of his brushwork in black and white. Kuan Po-hêng has a softly colored painting



A BEGGAR, BY WU WEI



of "Washing the Elephant" (*Hsi Hsiang T'u*), in which the foreshortening is not so well done as in the Freer Gallery painting of the same subject. A large painting by this artist four feet eight inches in height and one foot six inches in width is in the Metropolitan Museum. It was painted in 1585 for his friend Liu Jan, who added on the face of the picture the poem of Po Chü-i describing "The Musical Farewell" (*P'i P'a Hsing*), which is the subject of the painting. Another artist, Wu Wei (1458-1508), more generally called Wu Hsiao-hsien, had a bold, free style and in his figure painting chose weird models. In the collection of Yen Yün-po there is a black-and-white scroll painting, "The Iron Flute" (*Po Miao T'ieh Ti T'u*), which shows the strong, firm brush strokes of this artist. A strange figure painting of Wu Wei's in the Metropolitan Museum, "The Divining Beggar," represents religious dancing. It was formerly in the Imperial Collection of Ch'ien Lung but was presented by him to one of his statesmen. Wu Wei was a court favorite during the reigns of Ch'êng Hua (Hsien Tsung) and Hung Chih (Hsiao Tsung), as he had the double advantage of being able to paint or write offhand and with great rapidity. His painting of "The Sixteen Lohans" in the Palace Collection shows more restraint than any other of his paintings which I have seen.

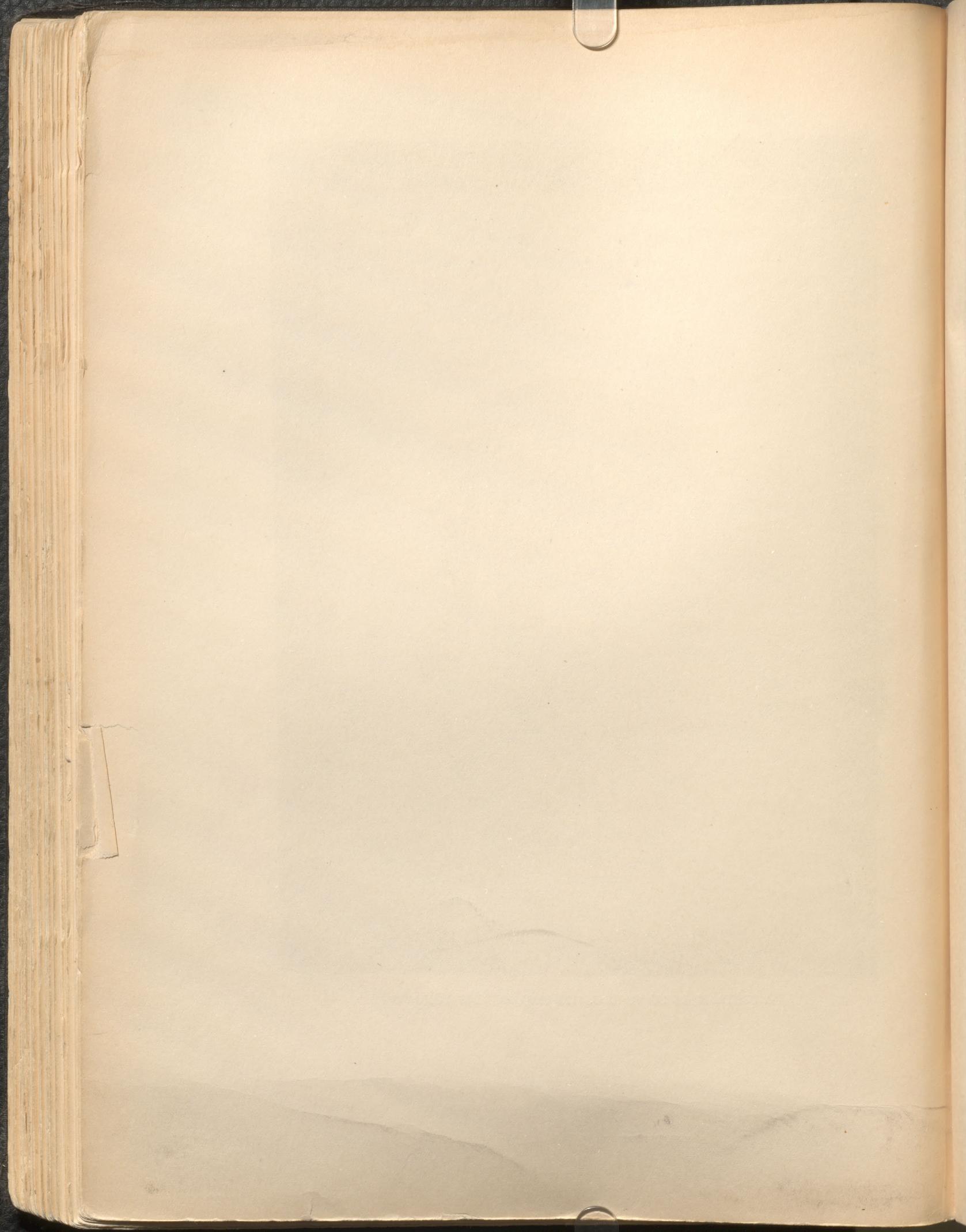
Without doubt the most outstanding painter of flowers of this dynasty was Lu Chih (1495-1576), also called Lu Pao-shan. His biography says that he followed the traditional style of Hsü Hsi and Huang Ch'üan, and he who has seen his long scroll of flower painting owned by Wu P'êng-ch'iu must approve this estimate. Yen Yün-po has a picture of peonies which shows that Lu was a master in the use of colors. Although his specialty was flower painting, his work in landscape is also considered to be almost as good as that of Shên Chou and T'ang Yin. The Metropolitan Museum has an example of his landscape painting on paper depicting a grove in autumn (*Chiu Lin*). The Palace Collection has more than fifty of his pictures almost evenly divided between flower and landscape paintings. Pien Ching-chao, called Pien Wên-chin, was also a painter of flowers and birds, who lived in the early years of the dynasty. He was appointed by the Emperor Yung Lo as reader in the Wu Ying Tien, which is now used as

the Government Museum, and lived on in this position until the Hsüan Tê period. One of his best-known paintings is in the Palace Collection. It is the picture of a crane (*T'ai Hsien T'u*), full of vitality and bold in outline. There is also in the same collection a notable picture of birds and flowers (*Hua Niao T'u*) by this artist. One of his paintings is illustrated in *Kokka* (No. 289). Another artist whose paintings are reproduced in *Kokka* (Nos. 171 and 265) is Tai Chin, also called Tai Wên-chin. He was a native of Hang-chow who came to the notice of the Emperor Hsüan Tê during the last years of the preceding artist, Pien Ching-chao. Tai Chin showed much originality in the composition of his pictures and in his use of colors. His landscape scroll owned by Yen Yün-po is delicately colored and free from convention. A hanging picture of a bridge over a waterfall (*Hsi Ch'iao Shang Ch'un*), in the collection of Kuo Shih-wu, shows strong lines resembling those of Hsia Kuei whose style Tai Chin closely followed. His "Listening to a Fountain" (*T'ing Ch'üan T'u*) in the Palace Collection is one of the best examples of his style.

These whom I have mentioned are considered by Chinese critics as the best artists of the Ming dynasty, but among connoisseurs there has been during the last century an increasing tendency to place a higher value upon the work of this dynasty and to collect more of its paintings. This has resulted in a new value being placed upon the worth of some artists who otherwise might have been omitted from this chapter. This may be illustrated by comparing the number of paintings by various minor artists now in the Palace Collection as compared with those in the Ch'ien Lung period. At present there are 18 examples of the work of Ch'êng Hung-shou in the palace, whereas there were only 7 at the time of Ch'ien Lung; 19 of Chou Chih-mien as compared with 5; 3 of Sung K'o instead of 2; 21 of Lu Chih compared with 14; 22 of Hsiang Shêng-mo instead of 10; 29 of Wang Fu in place of 18. This higher appreciation of Ming dynasty artists is by no means a sign of deterioration in present artistic taste but is based upon the belief that they have preserved the best traditions of early pictorial art and have carried them to a high degree of excellence. Another element which has contributed to this new estimate is the conviction that examples of Ming



A PORTRAIT OF LU YU (A.D. 1125-1209), BY TING YÜN-P'ENG



paintings can be more easily identified on account of their nearer proximity in period than those of the Sung. P'ang Lai-ch'en, of Shanghai, is an example of this modern tendency. He spent all of his earlier years in gathering a collection of early paintings but is now devoting his attention chiefly to those of the Ming dynasty. I myself consider that the most illuminating study of the whole field of Chinese painting that could be written at the present time would be one based upon the artists of that dynasty. They could be used as the best approach to early paintings now possible to the careful and conscientious investigator.

Reference must be made to two albums of fans in the Metropolitan Museum, for they contain examples of the outstanding artists and writers of this dynasty. There are twenty-four fans on which are paintings and twenty-four with beautiful examples of penmanship. The painters are Shên Chou, Ch'en Chi-shun, Wu Pin, Shao Mi, Chang Ch'ung, Ch'i Ch'ai-chia, Hsieh Shih-ch'en, P'an Yün-yü, Chuang Hui-sêng, Wên Chih, Han Tao, Ch'en K'uo, Lu K'o-chêng, Wên Chêng-ming, Sung Hsiu, T'ang Yin, Hsiang Shêng-mo, Lang Ch'an, Lu Chih, Sung Mou-chin, Lan Ying, Ch'êng Chia-sui, Wên Chia, and Li Liu-fang. The writers are Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, Fan Yün-lin, Ch'en Chi-ju, Li Chiao, Wên Ts'ung-chien, Yüan Chih, Chou T'ien-ch'iu, Ch'en Hung-shou, Yang Wên-tsung, Kung Ting-tzü, Wang Mou-lin, Juan Ta-ch'êng, Ch'a Shih-piao, Wên Tao-ch'êng, Ch'en Tao-fu, Ch'en Ming-hsia, Wang To, Wên P'êng, Wang Ch'ih-têng, P'êng Nien, Wang Ch'ung, Wu K'uan, Wên Chêng-ming, and Yü Tung-ju. These painters and writers form a bright galaxy of Ming dynasty talent.

I have also seen two other albums painted by Chang Ling (Chang Mêng-chin), who lived opposite to T'ang Yin and who painted a portrait of T'ang Yin which I saw when it was owned by Ching Hsien. There are sixteen paintings of historical tales, and the narrative of each tale is written in beautiful script on the opposite page by T'ang Yin. These tales are illustrative of the themes in which Chinese artists have ever delighted.

1. The scene is at P'ei Chung which was the residence of Han Kao-tsu, and is the modern P'ei-hsien in Hsü-chow-fu in Kiangsu. It was in this

place that Han Kao-tsü started his rebellion. The people of the district are depicted receiving him home.

2. The next picture is Hung Kou, a small waterway in Honan at Chêng-chow. Han Kao-tsü and Hsiang Yü in the picture are seated on opposite sides of the stream. West of Hung Kou was given to Han Kao-tsü, and east of it to Hsiang Yü.

3. Fei Ch'iu Shan is at Hsing-p'ing hsien, west of Hsi-an-fu. Chang Han at this place set up a rebellion. He is seen standing on the city wall before which is a moat cutting off the approach of the invading army.

4. Ch'ang An is modern Hsi-an-fu, capital of the empire in the time of Ch'in Shih Huang. Han Kao-tsü also made it his capital where the picture shows him holding court.

5. Grave of T'ien Hêng: T'ien Hêng was a relative of the Prince of Ch'i. He became afraid of Han Kao-tsü and escaped to an island whence Han Kao-tsü asked him to return to be pardoned. He came back, but was unwilling to serve Han Kao-tsü and committed suicide. The picture shows his grave at one side, while a servant kneeling before the emperor is reporting the events.

6. Lung Hsi is the mountain west of Han Ku Pass. K'uei Hsiao in the time of Kuang Wu thought first of surrendering to Kuang Wu, but on second thought was unwilling to do so. The picture depicts a trial by battle between two representatives of the principals.

7. Han-chung is in Shansi. Han Hsin was asked by Han Kao-tsü to be his general, but he insisted that the emperor should first do him the honor of appointing him in some conspicuous manner. Hence the platform in the picture was erected.

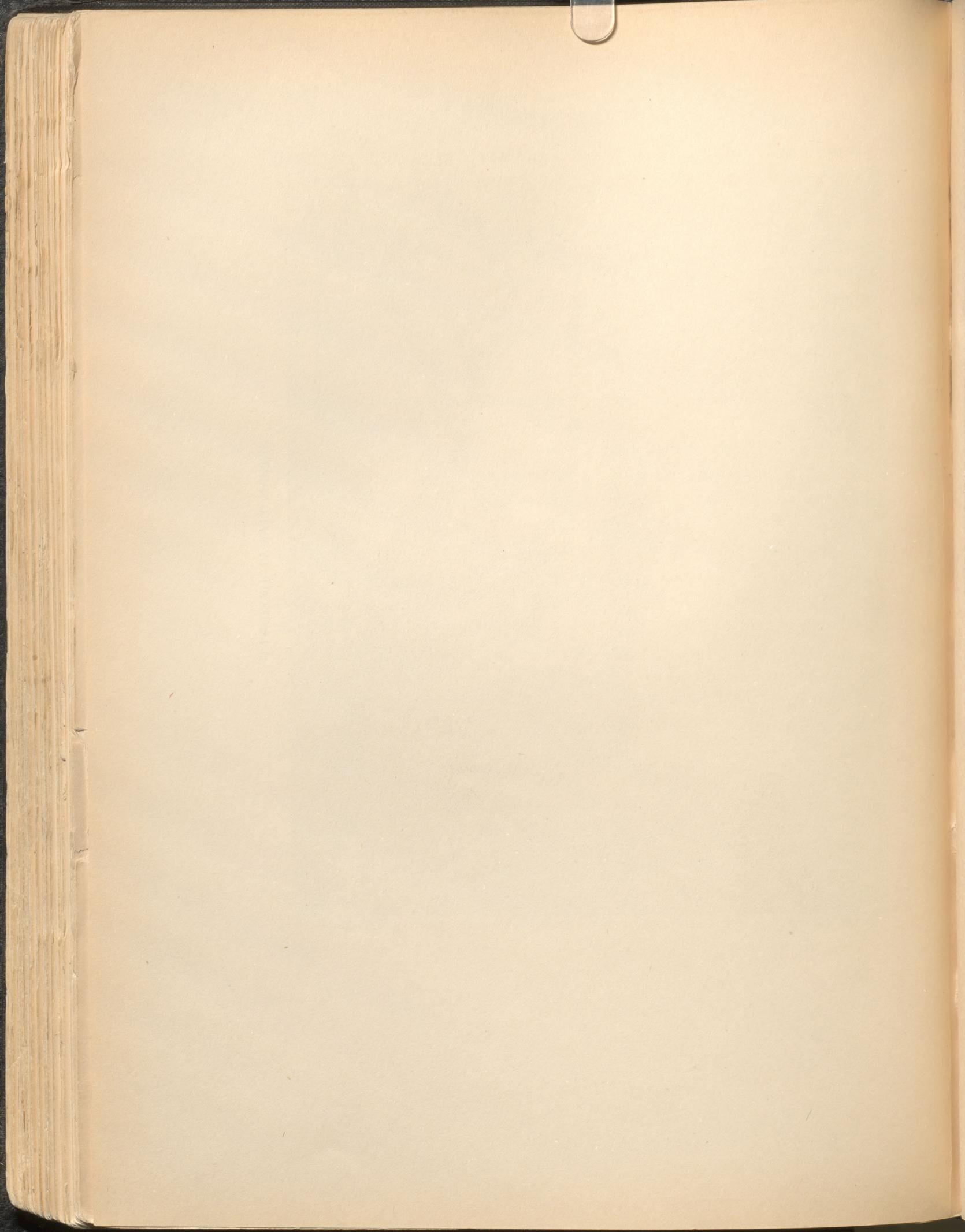
8. Chih-Shui is at Chao-chow. Han Hsin caught Ch'êng An-chün at that place, and the culprit is seen kneeling.

9. P'an-yü is in Canton. Chao T'o gathered troops at that place. Luh Chia went to persuade him to surrender to Han Kao-tsü but he was unwilling. Luh, however, persuaded him in the time of Wên Ti to erect the mound seen in the picture, where daily he sat looking toward the north as if he were ready to become a vassal of Han. The emperor was satisfied with this.

西
戊申
和月畫
於昆陵
舟次
王時故
皆年七十
有六



A LANDSCAPE, BY WANG SHIH-MIN



10. Ch'i-li-t'an is in Chekiang. Yen Kuang was a friend of Kuang Wu who afterward became emperor and wanted Yen to become an official. He was unwilling to do so and spent his time in fishing. He is the fisherman in this painting.

11. Shê-hsiung-kuan was a place in the Ch'ang Yang Palace at Hsi-an-fu in the time of Han Wu Ti. In this place the emperor made a hunting park. The picture is a spirited hunting scene.

12. Wang-ssü-t'ai was in Shan-chow, Shansi, in the time of Han Wu Ti. His oldest son, Li, was suspected by the four younger sons of planning to murder him, and his father caused him to be assassinated. He found that he had wrongly suspected Li and afterward built a platform from which he could look out on his son's grave.

13. Hu-t'ou-ho was in Chêng-ting fu, Chihli. Kuang Wu fought with Wang Lang. Wang Pa urged Kuang Wu to flee and assured him that he could cross the river on ice. The picture shows him crossing on the cracking ice, but after he had crossed, the ice melted, and thus saved him from his pursuers.

14. K'un-yang was in Yü-chow, Honan. Kuang Wu is seen fighting with Wang Mang. Kuang Wu's soldiers were few, and Wang had many, but Kuang Wu won the victory.

15. Ch'ang-sha is in Hunan. The youthful prodigy, Chia I, in the time of Han Wên Ti, was recommended as an exponent of learning to the king of Ch'ang-sha, and the picture shows him in his new surroundings.

16. Pa-ling was in Hsi-an-fu. Li Kuang, a general, was dismissed, but went to the bridge of Pa. He was forbidden to cross the bridge, whereupon he said that he had held the high position of general and thus should be given special permission, but was told that even if he were at present in office he could not cross. The picture shows him attempting to cross the bridge.

Thus painters of the Ming dynasty, by pictures such as these albums contain, kept alive an interest in the early historical events of their country, while at the same time they preserved the styles of their predecessors. They may not be entitled to the credit of being great creators, but they certainly must be considered as worthy preservers of great traditions.

XII

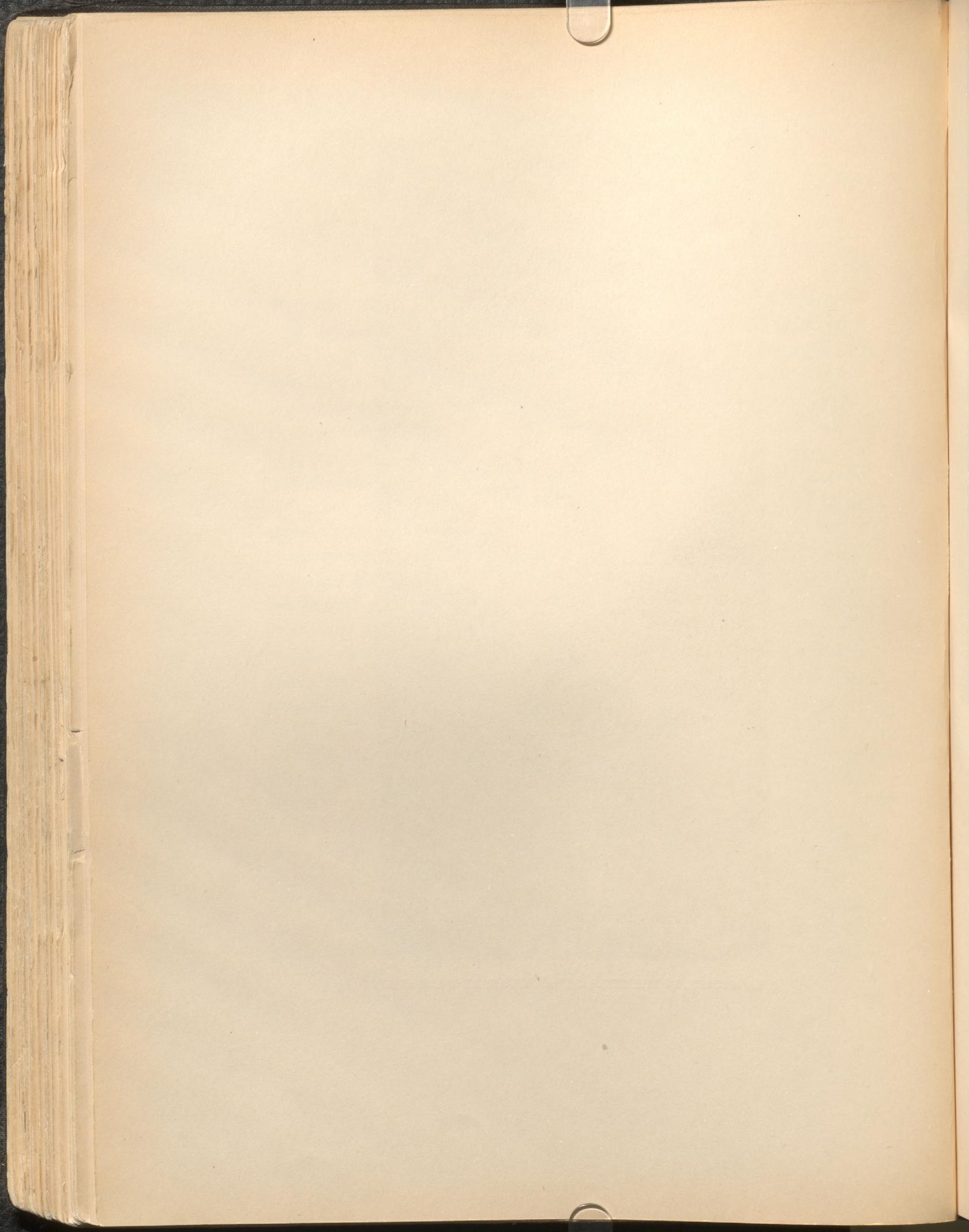
PAINTERS OF THE CH'ING DYNASTY

THE Ming dynasty gradually dissolved into the Ch'ing. The Manchus had consolidated their power in their new capital at Mukden, and by a series of victories placed themselves in a position to dictate terms to the Peking government. At first they could have been bought off, as after efforts extending over a period of twenty-five years they despaired of being able to force an entrance to China through the Great Wall at Shan-hai-kuan; but an alliance with Wu San-kuei against Li Tzü-ch'êng, who was in possession of Peking, gave them the coveted opportunity. In May, 1644, they won a decisive victory at Shan-hai-kuan after which the whole country place by place came under their sway. Their victories had been won by co-operation with Chinese, and their government from the first was dual, composed of an equal number of Chinese and Manchus as presidents of the Six Boards. A balance of power in favor of the Manchus was obtained by appointing Manchu generals in the provinces to a position equal to and ranking above that of viceroys or governors, but in almost all essential respects the form of government was continued as it had been under the Ming until the great Emperors K'ang Hsi and Ch'ien Lung made such changes as were needed to strengthen their despotic, though benevolent, sway. It is probable that there were fewer changes when the Ming were ousted by the Ch'ing than at the time of the transfer of authority from any one ruling house to another in the long history of China.

The continuity between the two dynasties is even more distinct in literature and art than in governmental system. Many scholars like the writer of verse, Wu Wei-yeh, obtained their literary degrees in the Ming dynasty and came to distinction under the Ch'ing. Several artists whose paintings were mostly done during the Ming lived on into the Ch'ing dynasty, and in accordance with the general custom of assigning men to the dynasty



A LANDSCAPE, IN THE STYLE OF FAN K'UAN, BY WANG CHIEN



during which they died rather than to that in which they were born they are properly classed as Ch'ing artists. The most noted of these were Lan Ying and Wang Shih-min (1592-1680). Lan Ying, also called Lan T'ien-shu, was a native of Hangchow. I have seen one of his landscapes painted in the style of Tung Yüan. Another landscape in the collection of Yün Kung-fu is done with more delicate brushwork, but neither of these two pictures shows originality in composition. There is a fan painted by Lan Ying included in the albums of Ming dynasty fans in the Metropolitan Museum. *Kokka* (No. 232) also gives an example of his work which seems to be more sought after by Japanese collectors than by Chinese. Wang Shih-min was a greater artist than Lan Ying, but it must be remembered that his artistic accomplishments were more certain of recognition than those of Lan Ying on account of his distinguished literary standing. He was a scholar, poet, and calligraphist and belonged to a good family, being the grandson of Wang Wên-su (Wang Hsi-chio), who attained to one of the highest distinctions in the gift of the Emperor Wan Li. He would have been a worthy companion of the artist scholars of the Ming, Yüan, and Sung dynasties. He also was given a high official position in the capital, but when the Ming were expelled, retired to his home in T'ai-ts'ang near Shanghai where he led a life of *otium cum dignitate*. He modeled his style after that of another scholar artist, Huang Kung-wang, of the Yüan dynasty. I have seen one of his landscapes in Huang's style which is in the collection of Yen Yün-po, and like it better than any painting of his master. The picture *Tuan Yang Hsi Pi* in the collection of K'uai Jo-mu is the best example of the work of Wang Shih-min that has come to my notice. It is in a style which seems to be a combination of those of Wang Mêng and Huang Kung-wang.

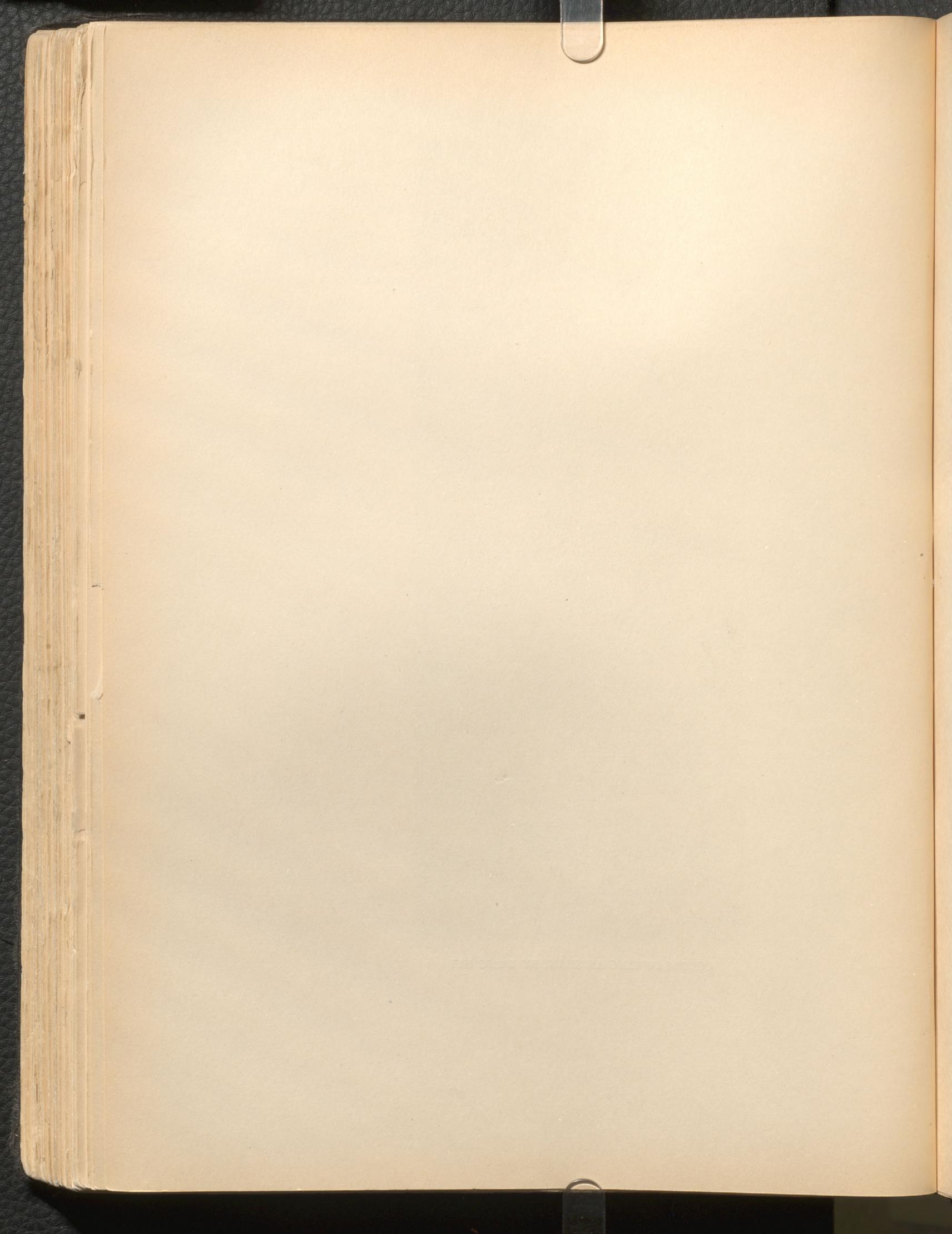
Wang Chien, also called Wang Yüan-chao (1598-1677), was also a connecting link between the two dynasties, for he was a grandson of the illustrious critic, Wang Shih-chêng, author of *Wang Shih Shu Hua Yüan* (see p. 20), but he himself did his best work late in life. He is therefore considered an artist of the Ch'ing dynasty more rightly than Wang Shih-min though the two lived at the same time and were neighbors at T'ai-ts'ang. Wang Chien had the advantage of owning a large collection of early paintings

which had come to him from his grandfather and also of having free access to the treasures of the palace. Like Lan Ying he painted in the style of Tung Yüan and of other Southern School artists such as Chü Jan and Fan K'uan. In the collection of Wang Hsiang-shu I have seen a landscape painting in the style of Fan K'uan, and in the collection of Yen Yün-po a landscape with vivid coloring, depicting fleeting clouds on the Hsiao and Hsiang rivers (*Hsiao Hsiang Po Yün*). It seems to me that Wang Chien had a keener appreciation of early styles than Wang Shih-min, but that the latter surpassed him both in technique and originality.

The inspiration of these three artists—Lan Ying, Wang Shih-min, and Wang Chien—came from the Ming dynasty, but before the two Wang had died the vigorous young Emperor Kang Hsi had come to the throne in 1662. He brought with him a fresh spirit. Chinese culture was new to him and so also were the European ideas that had been introduced by Ricci, von Schall, Verbiest, and perpetuated by their disciples such as Hsü Kuang-ch'i, Wang Hsi-shan, and Mei Wén-ting. The emperor did all in his power to encourage every form of learning both by his own diligence in study and also by liberal financial assistance through appointment of promising men to offices where their support was secure. This policy was followed by his son, Yung Chêng, who succeeded him, and by his grandson Ch'ien Lung, so that for the long period of one hundred and thirty years covered by these three reigns China enjoyed one of her most illustrious eras of literary development. In philosophy there arose the Yen Li School founded by Yen Yüan (1635-1704) and Li Kung (1659-1733). There was also Ku Yen-wu (1613-82), a spirited supporter of classical philosophy. In poetry there were Wu Wei-yeh and Wang Shih-chên; in classical studies Yen Jo-chü; in romance Chin Shêng-t'an, compiler of the "Four Marvelous Productions" (*Ssü Ta Ch'i Shu*); and Ts'ao Hsüeh-ch'in, author of "The Dream of the Red Chamber." There were the great collections such as *Ssü K'u Chüan Shu*, *P'ei Wén Yün Fu*, *Yüan Chien Lei Han*, *K'ang Hsi Tzü Tien*, *Ta Ch'ing I Tung Chih*, only to mention a few of them. In pictorial art there were produced the great treatises *Ta Kuan Lu*, *Shih Ku T'ang Shu Hua Hui K'ao*, *Chiang Ts'un Hsiao Hsia Lu*, *P'ei Wén Chai Shu Hua P'u*; in bronzes, the *Hsi Ch'ing*



COLORS OF LING-AN SHAN, BY WANG HUI



Ku Chien, Ning Shou Chien Ku, Chin Shih So, and Chi Ku Chai Chung Ting I Ch'i Kuan Shih. Everywhere there was intellectual ferment abroad, and the results were worthy of the best traditions of a nation devoted to art and literature. No other period of Chinese history equaled this one in breadth and catholicity of scholarship and in the use of what we now recognize as sound methods of investigation.

About the time when the first Manchu emperor came to the throne four men were born who were to become the great artists of this dynasty. They were Wang Hui (1632-1720), Wang Yüan-ch'i (1642-1715), Yün Shou-p'ing (1633-90), and Wu Li (1632-ca. 1720). The two Wang and Wu Li were all pupils of Wang Shih-min, and this great artist is therefore considered to be the sage (*shéng*) of Ch'ing dynasty painting, for through his pupils he became its chief source of inspiration. An understanding of the characteristics of Wang Shih-min's work gives therefore a knowledge of the tendencies and accomplishments of the painters of this dynasty. Wang Shih-min was a scholar-artist in whose opinion the profound literary training of an intellectual genius was sufficient to fit him to undertake any form of human achievement. With him painting was, next to calligraphy, the highest and best expression of the mind and for this reason worthy of one's best talents. Only a good calligraphist could become a good artist in a painting where strong or delicate brush strokes were of supreme importance. Wang Shih-min in pictorial art fitted into the general spirit of the age, which was one not so much of productivity as of conservation and collection. It is a great debt that later ages owe to these hundred-odd years of the three great Manchu emperors similar to that due to the Emperor T'ai Tsung of the T'ang dynasty. T'ai Tsung collected, conserved, and passed on to posterity all that had gone before him in literature and art, and a similar service was also performed by K'ang Hsi, Yung Chêng, and Ch'ien Lung. The advent of these vigorous alien emperors with their insatiable curiosity to understand the country over which their military power had made them masters led naturally to conservation and collection rather than to original production. K'ang Hsi started early in his reign to increase the number of paintings and writings which he found in the palace as an inheritance from

the Ming, and Ch'ien Lung carried it to a grand completion without resorting, it must be said, to the devious methods adopted by Ts'ai Ching in the reign of the Sung Emperor Hui Tsung. He was no robber of the treasures of the people, but a genuine patron of art. He had great talents and good taste, both of which he held in subjection to a spirit of willingness to receive instruction and help from the great scholars and critics with whom he surrounded his court.

The collection of paintings completed by Ch'ien Lung is recorded in the catalogues *Shih Ch'ü Pao Chi* and *Hsi Ch'ing Tsa Chi*. It includes two painters of the Chin dynasty, two of the Six Kingdoms period, thirteen of the T'ang, seven of the Five Dynasties, all of the leading artists of the Sung, Yüan, and Ming, together with more than sixty painters of the early years of the Ch'ing dynasty. It was a great achievement. One need only consider what would have been the opportunity of coming generations in China to see examples of the work of early masters if these had been left scattered in the hands of private collectors. Under the pressure of the wealth of Japan, Europe, and America in this last generation few would have been left in China; but by the efforts of Ch'ien Lung his great collection will preserve for all time the best of China's paintings for China's own people. The more emphasis is laid upon the importance of original productions, the greater the necessity of conserving and collecting those of former periods even though one's own age has not the good fortune to be able to produce masterpieces. Geniuses cannot be produced by carefully laid plans; they wait their own pleasure. No great artist of the rank of some of the Sung masters appeared in the Ch'ing dynasty, but this deficiency cannot do away with the fact that it made its own largest possible contribution to pictorial art by exhibiting a profound appreciation of it.

Wang Hui, more commonly known as Wang Shih-ku, of Soochow, is the first of the four great artists mentioned in a preceding paragraph. He was already well known as a promising artist when the command of the Emperor K'ang Hsi that he paint a series of pictures describing the imperial journey to the southern provinces (*Nan Hsün T'u*) brought him into national fame. Some of his best paintings were sent direct to the emperor, and others were

紫山無盡圖

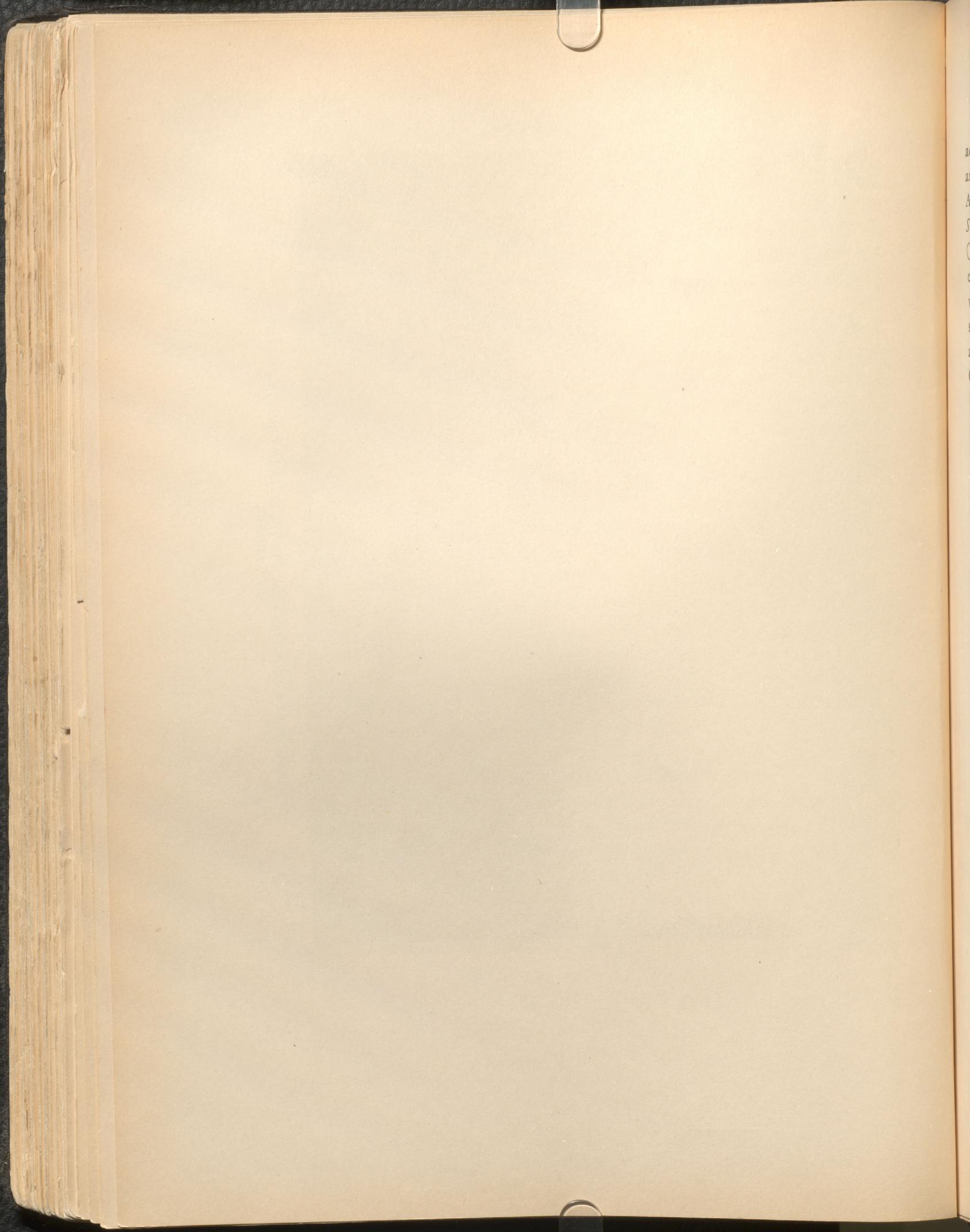
乙亥年十月長安客

含山賀道人

濟南王惠畫



TRAVELERS ON MOUNTAIN ROADS, IN THE STYLE OF CHIANG KUAN-TAO,
BY WANG HUI



acquired by Yung Chêng and Ch'ien Lung, so that there is now in the palace and museum a very representative collection of the paintings of this artist. Among these two of the best are "Studying in the Autumn Hills" (*Ch'iu Shan Tu Shu*), in the style of Wang Mêng, and "Scenes from T'ang Poetry" (*T'ang Jén Shih I*). There are also an album in which he reproduced some early paintings and another album of birds and flowers in the painting of which Wang Yün was associated with him. All of these exhibit the delicate strokes and refined atmosphere which are so typical of Wang Hui; but they also show better than any others I have seen his originality in composition. One cannot help thinking, after seeing some of his best work like these four paintings, that Wang Hui missed only by a hair's breadth becoming one of China's greatest artists, and one often searches long and diligently for the hair without finding its exact location. Yet one knows that it is there and sooner or later will disclose itself. His work is so great that he has become the idol of modern collectors, and his paintings command higher prices in China than any Yüan, Ming, or Ch'ing artist. P'ang Lai-ch'ên, of Shanghai, has sold many of his early paintings that he might be able to pay high prices for more specimens of the work of Wang Hui. He now has more than ten. No collection is complete without a specimen of his painting. The former imperial tutor, Chu I-ang, has a landscape scroll (*Fu Ch'un Shan Tu*) which is most charming; Fêng Kung-tu has "Spring Colors on Tung-ting Lake" (*Tung T'ing Ch'un Sê*); King Kung-pa has a flower painting made by Wang Hui in collaboration with his pupils (*Shih Ti Ho Tso Hua Hui*). Kuan Po-hêng has a scroll "Listening to the Pines" (*T'ing Sung Tu*), done in collaboration with Yü Chih-ting. The Metropolitan Museum has a landscape which is one of the well-known examples of Wang Hui's work and came from the collection of Li Mei-sêng on the recommendation of Fei Ch'i-huai. In his earlier years he devoted himself to the painting of landscapes, but later to that of still life (*hsieh sêng*). He lived to a ripe old age in the enjoyment of having his work universally approved and sought after.

Wang Yüan-ch'i, also called Wang Lu-t'ai, was a contemporary. He was the grandson of Wang Shih-min and inherited his great talent. The emperor called him to Peking and made him governor of the School of Paintings and

Writings. He was also proficient in poetry and calligraphy, which caused the emperor to say of him that he was a master in three arts (*san chüeh*). He was not spoiled by his great honors, but returned to his home to lead a quiet, retired life during his later years. His painting was calligraphic and modeled after Huang Kung-wang and Wang Mêng. He studied diligently early masters and reproduced their styles. I have seen examples of his work in the style of Ni Tsan, Kao K'o-kung, Chao Mêng-fu, Kuan Tung, Ching Hao, Chü Jan, and others. His best work is a painting in the style of Li Ch'êng, which is in the Palace Collection. He was the fourth painter of the surname Wang to come into prominence, and is associated in popular parlance with Wang Shih-min, Wang Chien, and Wang Hui as the "Four Wang" (*Ssü Wang*). It would be more correct to put Wang Shih-min with Wang Chien in one class and Wang Hui with Wang Yüan-ch'i in another, but it has been found easier to group all four together under the one surname. It is unique in the history of Chinese painting that such a group could be formed under one family name.

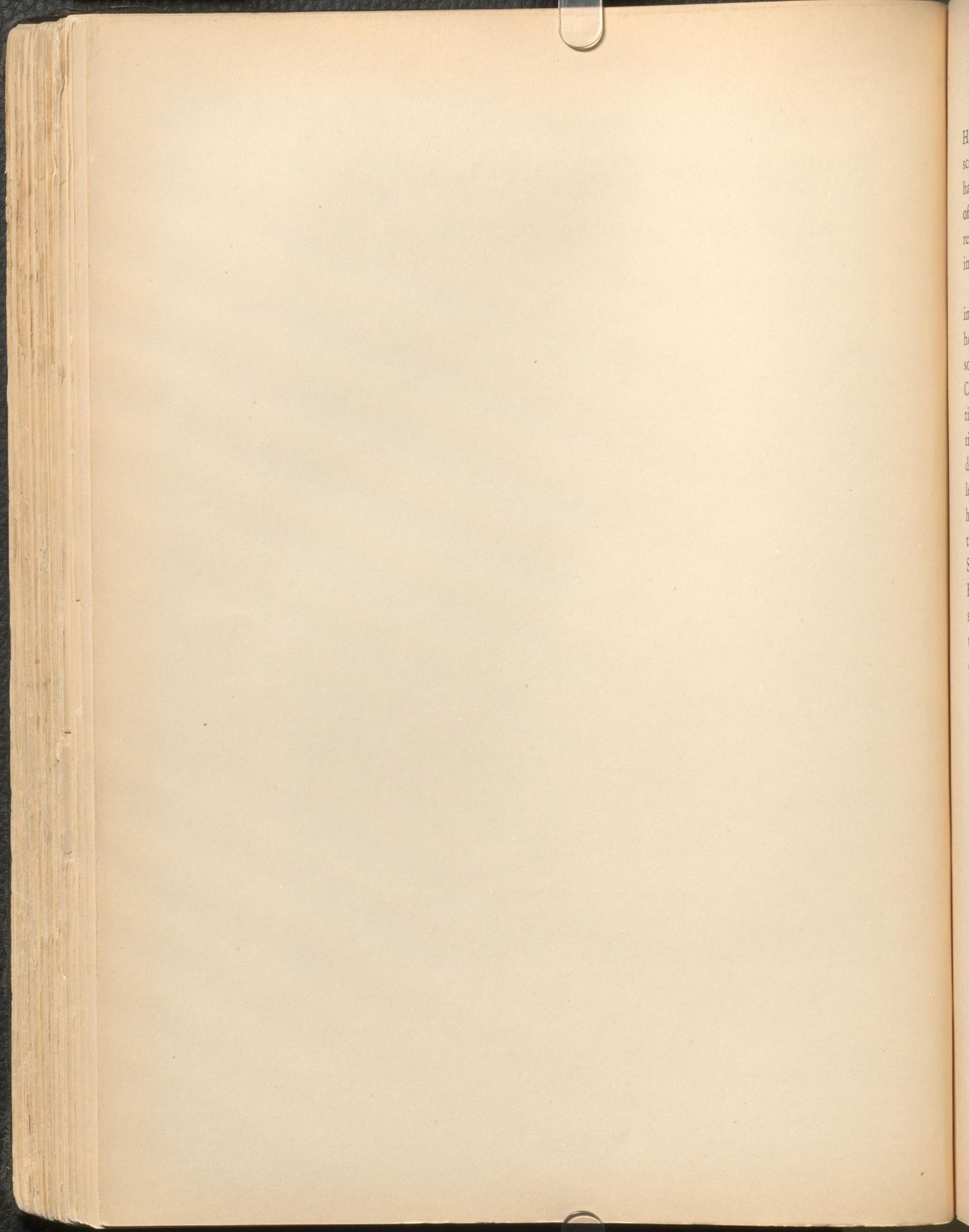
(1633-1690) Yün Shou-p'ing, whose original name was Yün Ko and who later became more generally known as Yün Nan-t'ien, was a native of Wu-ching (Ch'ang-chow). His family was in straitened circumstances, and he was obliged to live in poverty while acquiring his education. He never became an official nor attained to high literary degrees but lived a quiet, retired life in spite of which he became so well known that his painting of prunus flowers was sought for the Imperial Collection during his lifetime. He was more fond of making album paintings than large ones; the Ch'ien Lung Collection had ten albums. He was an independent worker and took up the style of "boneless painting" resuscitated by Tung Ch'i-ch'ang (p. 161). This method gave him greater freedom than he found in the calligraphic style which he learned from his teacher, Wang Shih-min. There is very little difference between much of his work and that of a Western painter in water colors. The great skill of this artist is shown to perfection in the way in which he shades one delicate color into another, reminding one of iridescent silk. The former minister of finance, Chang Hu, has an album of flower paintings in Yün Shou-p'ing's best style. He also painted landscapes following the style of

滿院香飄飄冷落寒風對葉傳
立壁空心冷落寒風吹落去袖中
梅開淡素威寒此近誰是人

雲山
西林



PRUNUS BRANCHES, BY YÜN SHOU-P'ING

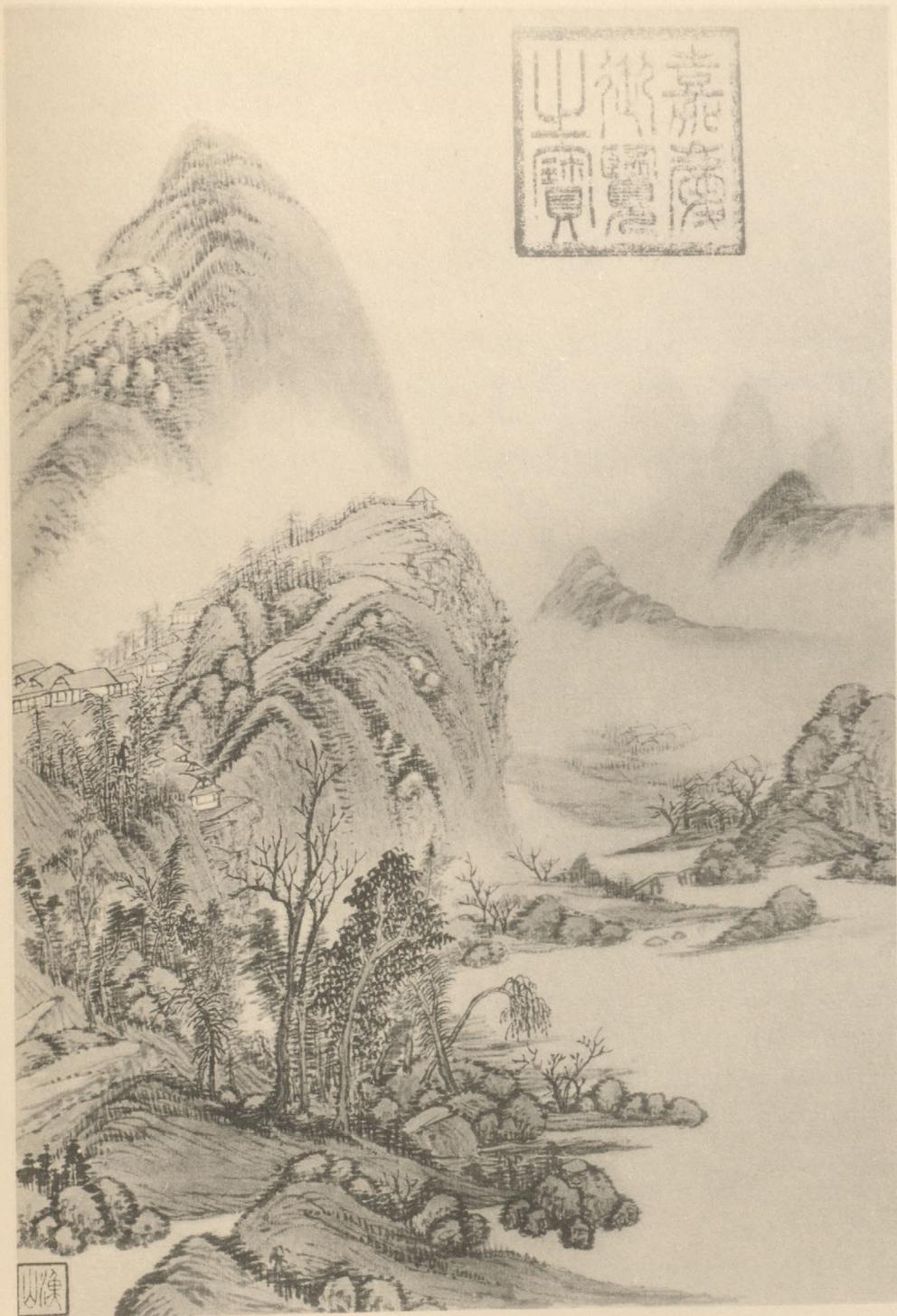


Huang Kung-wang as taught by Wang Shih-min. King Kung-pa has a landscape, "The Five Pines" (*Wu Sung T'u*), which is better than any other I have seen but is much inferior to the best work of any of the Four Wang or of Wu Li. Yün Shou-p'ing was a flower painter par excellence, and his reputation must rest wholly upon this class of pictures. Two of his paintings are shown in *Kokka* (Nos. 245 and 268).

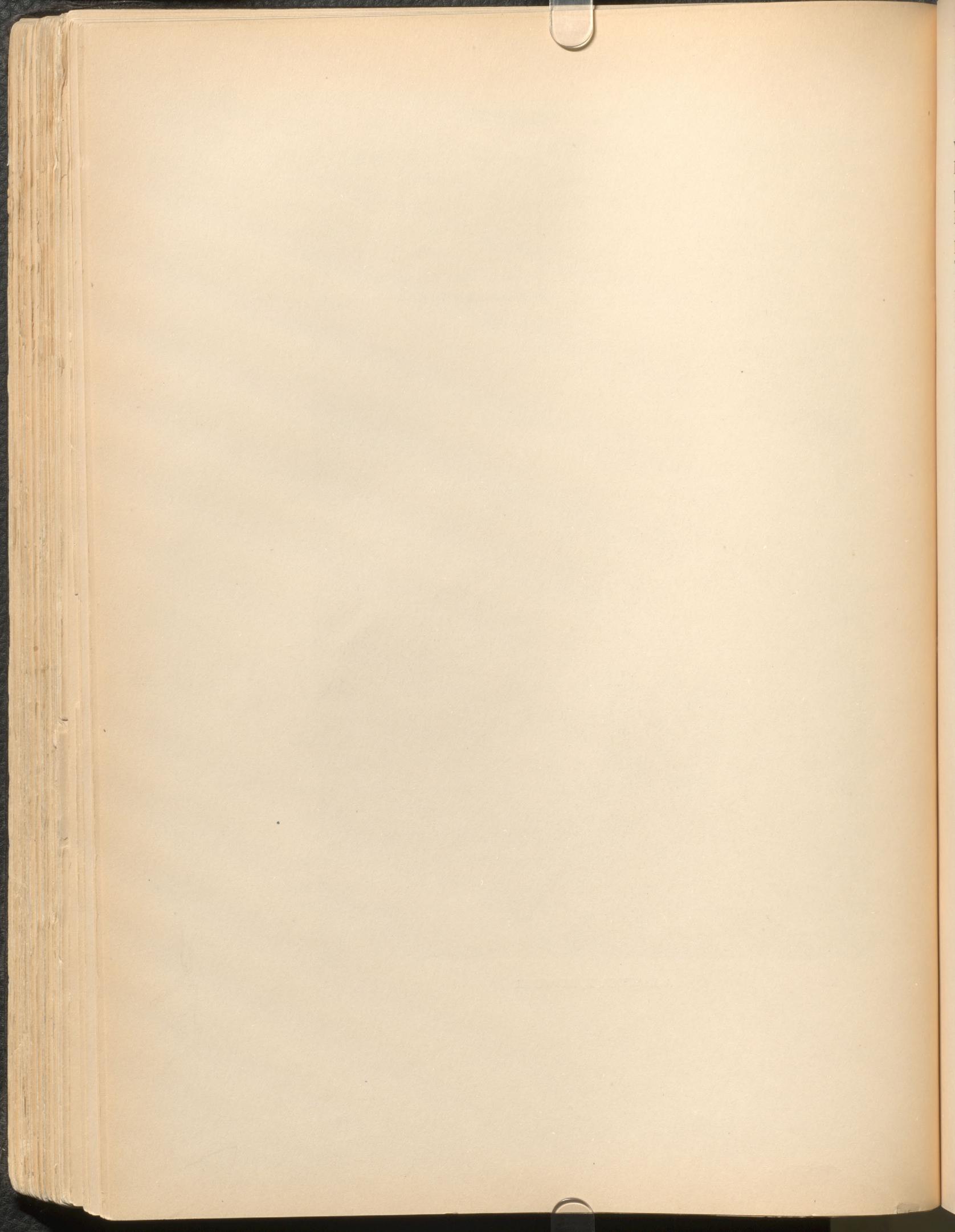
Wu Li [Wu Yü-shan] had a most interesting life. Bereft of his father in early youth, his education was supervised by his mother. After her death he lost interest in the ordinary affairs of life and gave himself up to philosophic and religious contemplation. He became acquainted with a Belgian Catholic priest, Father Couplet (Po Ying-li) from whom he received instruction in Christian teachings. He espoused the Christian faith and was baptized under the name of Simon Xavier. Having lost his wife, and his two daughters being already married, he accepted the invitation of Father Couplet to accompany him on a journey to Rome in 1681. After reaching Macao he decided to remain there and study to become a priest. He was ordained the following year and took the name of Father Acunha. He returned to Shanghai, and from this place as headquarters he did missionary work in Kiating. Dying in his eighty-seventh year he was buried outside the old south gate of Shanghai city near St. Catherine's bridge in the cemetery of the Jesuit Order where I have seen his grave. Most of his paintings were done previous to his entry upon a religious life. The snow scene owned by Yang Yin-po, which is one of Wu Li's best works, was painted in 1667. This picture was done for his friend whom he calls Mo Kung, and another landscape was painted for a friend, T'ang Yü-chao, known as Pan Yüan. The snow picture has been annotated by many distinguished writers among whom were his teacher Wang Shih-min, the great writer, Wu Wei-yeh, author of *Wu Yüeh Yeh Ming Chi*, Fêng Wên-ch'ang, and the K'ang Hsi painter, Chin Chün-ming. There is a beautiful landscape by Wu Li in the Metropolitan Museum, which came from the Wang family at K'un-shan on the Shanghai-Nanking Railway between Soochow and Shanghai. On the face of the picture is an annotation by the artist in which he states that the brush strokes (*ts'un fab*) used by him in this painting are after the style of

Huang Kung-wang and Chü Jan. It is dated 1702, and was painted in honor of the sixtieth birthday of his "worthy teacher," Ts'un Shan-tsun, who was probably one of his religious instructors, for at that time Wu Li was himself seventy years of age, and could not call a younger man "teacher" unless it was in his new religious faith. I have found no trace of who is referred to under the name Ts'un Shan-tsun Hsien-sêng. In the Liu family at Ts'i-pao near Shanghai is preserved a landscape by Wu Li which was painted in 1704 to be presented to one of his co-religionists, and this lends credence to the opinion that the painting in the Metropolitan Museum was also painted for a similar purpose.

The other artists of this dynasty may be considered in classes according to the kind of painting for which they are best known. In landscape there was Ch'a Shih-piao (1615-98), a native of Hai-yang who was born in the Ming dynasty, but whose work is all dated as far as I know in the Ch'ing. He painted in the style of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang as Tung followed Mi Fei. A picture of clouded hills in the collection of Yen Yün-po and another of a misty rain owned by Hsi Pao-ch'en are in this style. Fang Hêng-hsien is a painter of the K'ang Hsi period whose work is rare but highly prized. I have seen a landscape signed by him and dated 1676 which shows that he possessed a good style and had firm, vigorous brush strokes. The illustrious connoisseur and writer, Yüan Yüan, said of Fang's painting that it was a delight to the eye (*yen fu*). Then there was Hua Yen (1660-1740), who is better known as Hsin Lo Shan Jên. His painting of "The Marriage from Chung Ku'ei's Family" (*Chung K'uei Sung Chia*) in the collection of Kuo Shih-wu and a landscape in "boneless painting" owned by the imperial tutor, Chu, are conspicuous examples of this artist's work. Hua Yen might equally well be placed among painters of flowers and birds, as may be seen from pictures in the collections of San To and Chang Hu. Kung Hsien (seventeenth century), also known as Kung Pan-ch'ien, was a native of K'un-shan, but spent most of his life in Nanking. He painted in the style of Tung Yüan. King Kung-pa had an album of landscape painting and Yen Yün-po a scroll by Kung, both of which have great merit. Kuan Po-hêng has a painting by him of mountain scenery in the style of Chü Jan. A painter



A LANDSCAPE, BY WU LI



who flourished in the reigns of Yung Chêng and Ch'ien Lung was Tung Pang-ta, who died A.D. 1769. He attained to the highest literary degree and painted, like the preceding artist, in the style of Tung Yüan and Chü Jan. Many of his paintings were executed from subjects set for him by the Emperor Ch'ien Lung. In the Palace Collection there are a beautiful picture by Tung of hills half hidden by clouds and another of lonely travelers in mountain passes. Fêng Kung-tu has a snow scene which exhibits the refined taste and delicate strokes of this painter.

The custom arose early in this dynasty of grouping the landscape artists into schools (*p'ai*). There was the Sung-chiang School, which followed the style of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang and whose leader was Ch'a Shih-piao. With him were associated in this school Wang Chih-jui, Sun I, and the priest Hung-jên. These were known as the "Four Great Masters" (*Ssü Ta Chia*). There was the Kiang-si School headed by Lo Mu, of Nan-ch'ang, an artist of whom we know but little. There was the Nanking School which took the old name of this city, Chin-ling, and is known as the *Chin-ling P'ai*. There were eight artists in this group at the head of which was Kung Hsien. The other seven members of this group were Fan Ch'i, Kao Ts'ên, Tsou Chê, Wu Hung, Yeh Hsin, Hu Tsao, and Hsieh Sun. I have seen examples of the paintings of all the members of this school and consider their work superior to the Sung-chiang School. There was the Soochow group (*Wu P'ai*) and the Chekiang group (*Chê P'ai*); these belonged to some of the aforementioned schools. There were the Hsing-an and the Ku-shu Schools, names which only signified another mode of classification. There is no real basis for these divisions into groups or schools unless their names may have been meant for self-protective purposes. As a matter of fact, all could be included under the general heading of landscape of the Southern School as used in speaking of artists of the Sung dynasty. All followed the general style of Tung Yüan as he followed Wang Wei, the great protagonist of scholarly artists. The landscapists of the Ch'ing dynasty were all stylists in pictorial art with the incidental graces and failings of their pedantry.

In painting of figures Yü Chih-ting (1650-1720) made a notable record

during the reign of K'ang Hsi. I have seen a portrait of Chao Mêng-fu made by Yü and also another small figure, both of which are good. His most famous painting, "The Gathering of the Kings" (*Wang Hui Tu*), is only known by name at the present time. Another figure painter was Lo Ping (1687-1756), a native of Yangchow, one of whose best works is in the collection of Hsi Pao-ch'êñ. He might also have been classed as a landscapist, for Yün Kung-fu has a landscape picture by him, and there is another in the Metropolitan Museum. The painter of figures who enjoyed during his lifetime greater imperial favor than any other was Ting Kuan-p'êng. Ch'ien Lung spoke of him as a reincarnation of Ting Yün-p'êng, though the two men were not related. He reproduced several religious paintings of his distinguished namesake. He copied "The Beggars" scroll of Ch'iu Ying (*Ch'i Chi'ao Tu*); "The Drunken Buddhist Priest" (*Tsui Sêng Tu*), by Li Kung-lin; "The Goddess of Lo" (*Lo Shén Tu*), by Ku K'ai-chih; and also works of several other early artists. His brother, Ting Kuan-ho, worked with him in the same style but could not equal him. The work of these artists had none of the strength of line of that of Wu Wei of the Ming dynasty; they were simply stylists, as the landscapists were.

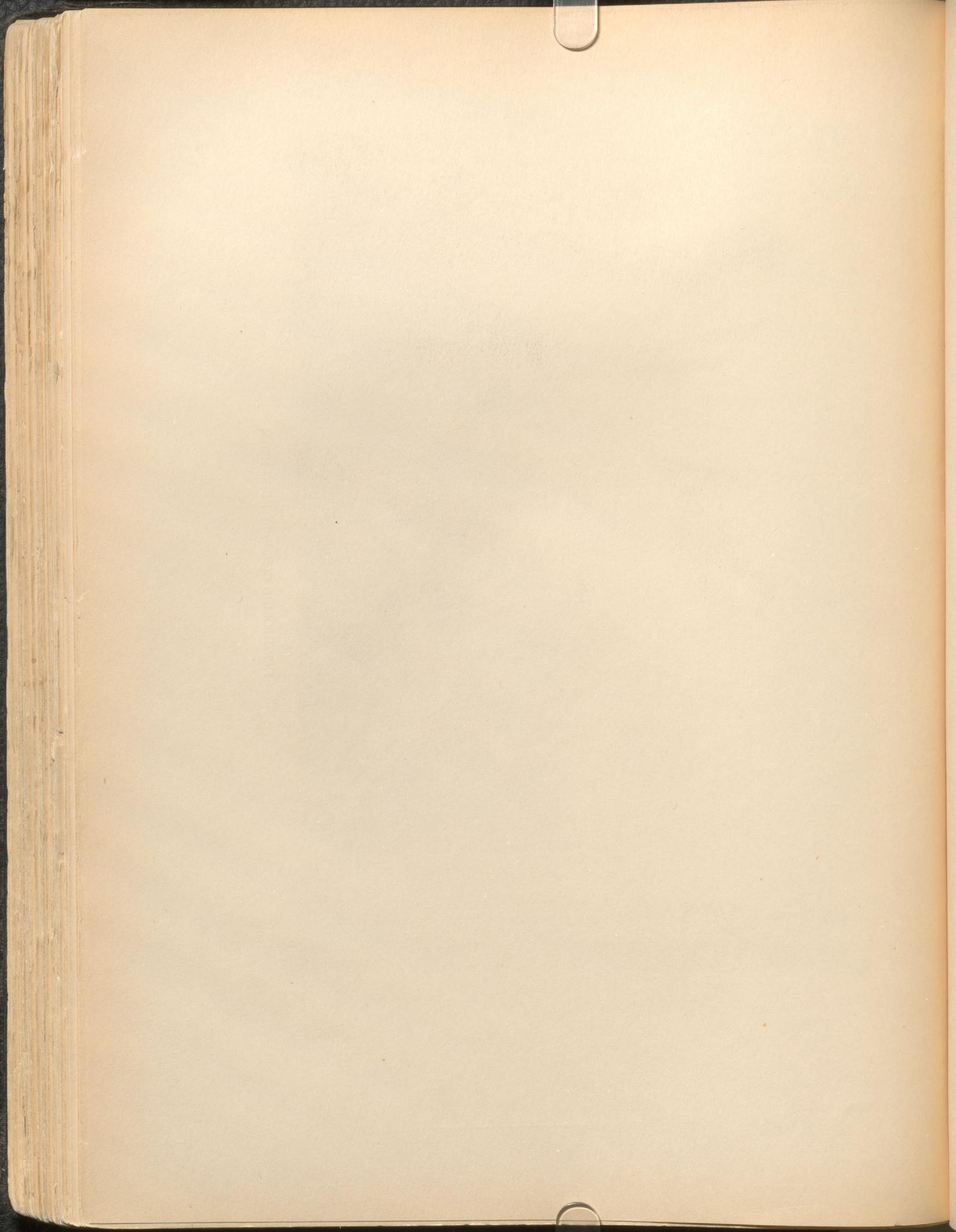
Chiang T'ing-hsi (1669-1732) was a favorite of two emperors, K'ang Hsi and Yung Chêng, under whose patronage he received high honors. His chief distinction was as a painter of flowers and birds. K'uai Jo-mu has an album, and Yen Yün-po a hanging picture of this class of paintings, and they show that Chiang had real artistic talent which was not inferior to that of Yün Shou-p'ing. Chiang's great literary ability and his popularity at court prevented his devoting as much time to the technique of painting as Yün Shou-p'ing, and hence his achievements were not so conspicuous, but a comparison of the extant paintings of the two men leads me to place Yün no higher than Chiang. Another artist of this dynasty who deserves mention is Kao Ch'i-p'ei who died in 1734. He was a weird painter who often discarded brushes and in their place used his fingers dipped in ink. This is styled "finger painting" (*chih-t'ou hua*). It was first introduced by Chang Tsao of the T'ang dynasty who used a stump brush or as an alternative his finger if the brush were not at hand. Fu Shan, of the Ming dynasty,



NEIGHBORING CLIFFS, BY KUNG HSIEN

西峰中雙面天門開
石室有長流
借得山泉未可持
時尋且自來





had made a reputation in his native province of Shansi by this class of paintings, and he even went so far as to use only his finger nail. Prince P'u T'ung has in his collection a good example of the work of Kao Ch'i-p'ei, called "Chung K'uei Catching Evil Spirits" (*Chung K'uei Cho Kuei*). One would scarcely perceive at first glance that this picture was not made with an ordinary brush. Kao had good artistic genius, as may be seen from two of his pictures in the Government Museum—one a landscape and one birds and flowers; it is a pity that he devoted himself to such a large extent to what can only be called "freak painting." He showed his command of the brush by his calligraphy, which is of high order.

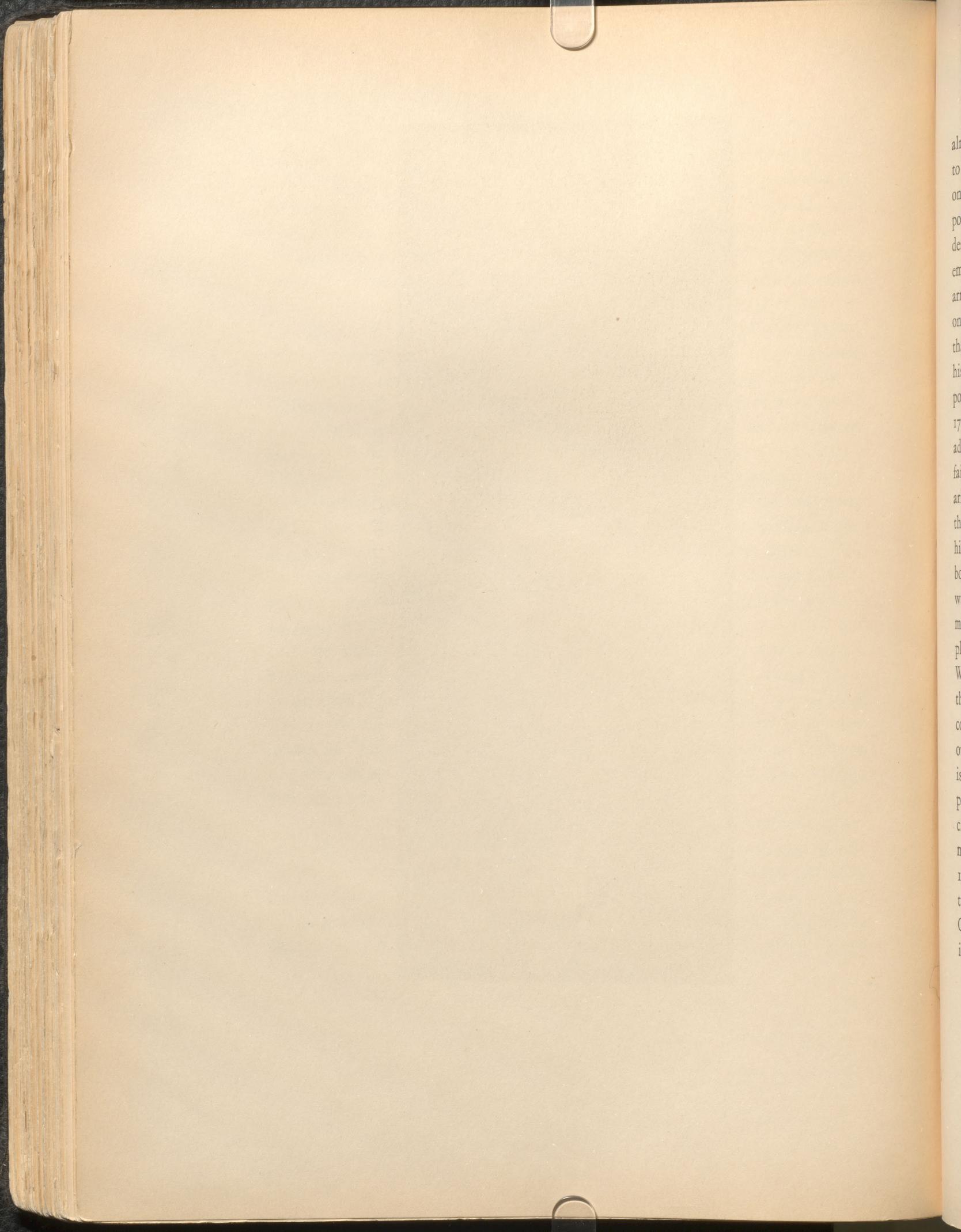
One of the outstanding influences on painting during this dynasty came from Europe through the Jesuit priests who were employed by the Emperor K'ang Hsi. Matteo Ricci settled in Peking in 1600, and in 1687 five Jesuits arrived at the capital, one of whom was Bouvet. He was followed by Belleville, Gherardini, and Castiglione (who was a scholastic Hui K'un). All of these found high favor at court. Castiglione was a painter and is known in art records in China as Lang Shih-ning. He was born at Milan, July 19, 1698, and died at Peking, July 16, 1768. His first work was in the decoration of the summer palace, Yüan Ming Yüan, and it was so pleasing to the emperor that Castiglione was urged to devote his entire attention to painting. He first made portraits of many distinguished men and then began to paint birds and flowers. His painting of horses happened in an interesting way. The emperor had been presented with a fine horse from Tibet, and he named it *Ju-i* ("Suits My Fancy"). He ordered Castiglione to make a painting of this horse, remarking to him that formerly another foreigner, Wei-ch'ih I-sêng, painted in the "positive" style (*wa-tieh*), which was similar to the European method as shown to him by Castiglione. At the same time the emperor ordered a court painter, Chin T'ing-piao, to make a copy of "The Five Horses" of Li Kung-lin so that he might make a comparison between Chinese and foreign methods of painting. The emperor afterward adjudged the work of Castiglione to be superior to that of his competitor. The palace has many of Castiglione's paintings. One of the Emperor Ch'ien Lung in his younger years is a good portrait. There is a picture of a white eagle

on a rock in the Government Museum which is typical of this class of his work. He often collaborated with Chinese artists, Castiglione adding the figures of men or animals and they painting the background in classical Chinese style. Prince P'u T'ung has an album in which T'ang Tai painted the landscape background, and Castiglione the Emperor Ch'ien Lung seated on a piebald horse. I have seen a painting by him of a foreign woman whose face is distinctly Italian. She has a large European dog lying at her feet. Castiglione had a wide circle of friends among the distinguished literary men who surrounded the court, and by these he was held in high esteem. One may speculate as to what would have happened to the pictorial art of China if Castiglione had been as great a master in painting as some of his fellow-missionaries were in mathematics. In mathematics and astronomy European influence was permanent and gradually became predominant even before the modern era of China was opened in the nineteenth century; in painting Castiglione was little more than a partial eclipse of the brilliancy of his age. His impression on contemporary painters was profound but it proved to be temporary. It would doubtless have been more lasting if the prestige of the Jesuit fathers had not suffered so severely on account of their controversies with other religious orders which resulted in their suppression by papal bull five years after the death of Castiglione; or if Castiglione had had the ability to add attainments in Chinese scholarship to his artistic abilities. As it was, he is now seen to have been a mediocre painter judged either from Western or Chinese standards; but he has the high distinction of having been admitted to the coveted honor of a place among their own artists in Chinese pictorial records. His breaking into the inner circle of Chinese culture from the distant outside world of Europe was a great achievement.

Another Jesuit, Attiret, in a letter from Peking dated November 1, 1743, and published in *Lettres edifiantes* (III, 786) reports in an interesting paragraph (p. 793) his experiences as a court painter. After speaking of the portraits of the emperor's brother and his wife, of certain princes and princesses of the blood and of other favorites, he adds, "I have painted nothing in our European style. It was necessary for me to forget, so to speak, all that I had



THE EMPEROR CH'EN LUNG MOUNTED, BY CASTIGLIONE AND T'ANG TAI



already learned and to make for myself a new style, in order to conform to the taste of the nation." He speaks of his constant association "with one of our brothers, Castiglione," who before his arrival had painted the portraits of the emperor and the empresses. In the following paragraph he describes the life in the palace: "Whatever we paint is ordered by the emperor. We first make the designs; he sees them, has them changed, rearranged as seems good to him. Whether the correction be good or poor, one must let it stand without daring to do anything." It is thus evident that Castiglione during his later years and Attiret throughout the whole of his life in the palace were working under great restrictions. These were imposed after the edict issued by Ch'ien Lung on his accession to the throne in 1736 in which he praised the work of Europeans in revising the calendar but added that Manchus and Chinese were forbidden to accept their Christian faith. This led to the strict supervision of all the activities of these missionaries. Attiret, who arrived in China two years after the promulgation of this edict, did not have the same chance as Castiglione to make a name for himself, although he was probably a better painter. He was a Frenchman born in Touraine prefecture in 1702, the son of an artist. His name in China was Tê Ni. On his arrival in Peking he was ordered by the emperor to commence work in the palace. Although his paintings were good they did not please the emperor who issued a command to him through the Board of Works to paint in water colors. "Attiret's oil paintings are excellent but they lack in expression. He should study the methods of painting in water colors, in which he would be certain to excel. He can continue to use his own methods of painting portraits in oil." After this command had been issued the emperor continued to show favors to Attiret and gave him a place in the palace, but the entourage subjected him to many humiliating circumstances. His rooms were cold in winter and unbearably hot in summer, but he continued in his attempts to please the emperor. He died in 1768. I have not seen in the palace, in the museum, or in any private collection any specimen of his work, and his name is not mentioned in the list of Chinese painters. He suffered the fate of many other court favorites in having his influence confined solely to the time in which he lived. The work of

Gherardini, Chiang Yu-jên, and his associates in the summer palace, Yüan Ming Yüan, included mural paintings, and these could be seen until it was destroyed by the allied forces in 1860.

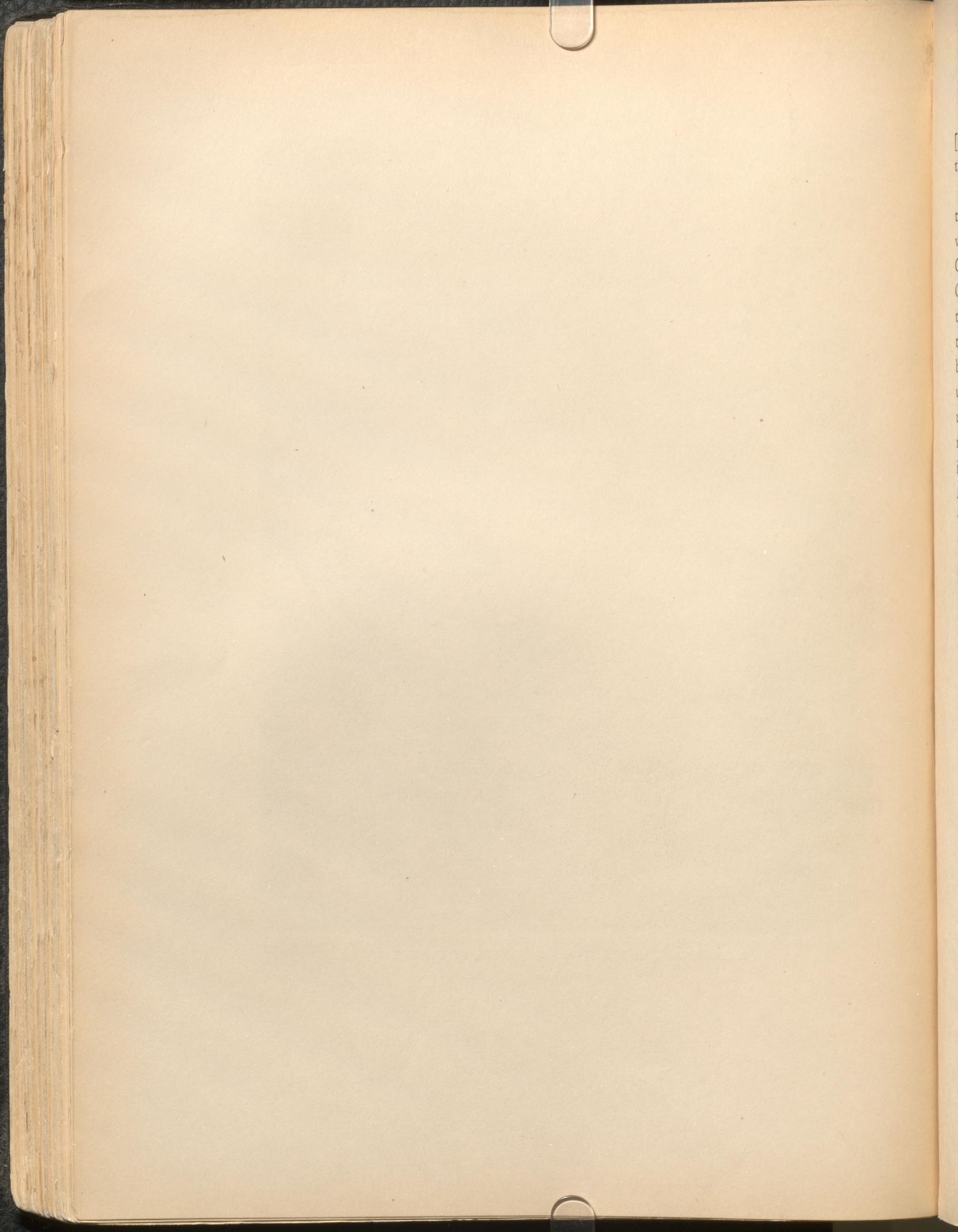
T'ang Tai, who painted with Castiglione, was a Manchu steeped in the classical traditions which he learned from his teacher, Wang Yüan-ch'i. He became a great favorite at court, and the Emperor K'ang Hsi conferred upon him the honorary degree of "Optimus" (*Chuang Yüan*). In his old age K'ang Hsi often set the subject of a painting for T'ang Tai, or himself composed poems, in honor of paintings done by this artist on his own initiative. He was a diligent student of the Sung landscapists, and I have seen in the collection of Kuo Shih-wu an album in which he has illustrated the styles of Kuan T'ung, Li Ch'êng, Tung Yüan, Kuo Hsi, Chao Ling-jang, Mi Fei, Huang Kung-wang, Ni Tsan, Chao Meng-fu, Wang Meng, Ts'ao Chih-pai, and Wu Chen. Another artist who studied Western methods was Chiao Ping-ch'en. As a result of his album painting of forty-six leaves illustrating the useful arts of agriculture and weaving (*Keng Chih T'u*), he was given the honor of being called "high official" (*ch'êng*). The best example of his work that I have seen is an album of flower, vegetable, and insect paintings owned by Kuo Shih-wu. There was still another good artist, Tsou I-kuei (1686-1772), who became a serious student of European painting. He was a famous littérateur whom Ch'ien Lung promoted to the rank of president of a board. He studied with the Jesuit fathers, Castiglione and Attiret. This experiment in another style of painting convinced him more than ever of the superiority of Chinese methods, and he wrote, in his "Remarks on Painting" (*Hsiao Shan Hua P'u*), "Westerners are fond of using the perspective plane in painting, with the result that the impression of depth and distance is very accurate. In the painting of human figures, houses, and trees there are always shadows. The colors and brushes used are also different from those used in China. The shaded portion of the picture tapers off from wide to narrow, like the point of a triangle. Mural paintings of palaces and residences are often so real that one wants to walk straight into them. Students may make use of a small percentage of the methods of Westerners, and especially of their suggestiveness, but they are entirely devoid of style

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靜庵畫

A LANDSCAPE, IN THE STYLE OF KUO HSI, BY T'ANG TAI



[style of the brush]. Although their work shows skill in drawing and technique, yet it cannot be classified as true painting."

The "Biographies of Painters" (*Hua Shih Hui Chuan*) devotes one chapter (lxiii) to foreign painters. The last reference in this chapter is to the work of the English who accompanied Lord McCartney on his mission to China. "When the English sent a commissioner to congratulate the Emperor Ch'ien Lung, some members of his party made drawings of all the districts through which they passed. These maps and sketches they took back with them to England. The figures and houses were drawn in a style which brought out the lights and shadows (*yin yang hsiang pei*). This is the measured painting (*chieh hua*) style as known in China but is an improvement upon it. It may be seen in the paintings of palaces by Chao Po-chü." This reference must be to the sketches which were made into plates and published in London by G. Nicol, April 12, 1796. We know from the "Authentic Account" of McCartney's mission written by Staunton (1797), page 35, of which the plates were a part, that one of the members, Lieutenant Parish, was "a very able draughtsman who contributed to the gratification of the curiosity of the public by the sketches he took of some remarkable objects throughout the route." There were also attached to the embassy a painter and a professional draughtsman. These men must have exhibited their sketches to some of the court attendants upon whose minds a deep impression was made as shown by the reference to them in the preceding quotation.

Throughout its long history China has recognized a few foreign painters who after their immigration had learned to paint in Chinese style. There were Japanese, Coreans, Tibetans, Mohammedans, natives of Khotan, of Inner Mongolia, and of Kitan Tartary. Mention is also made in the *Biographies of Painters* of the sketches brought to China by Matteo Ricci which from the description given of them were probably etchings. Of all the foreign influences only two have been recognized as having distinctive styles. The painting of the Khotan artist, Wei-ch'ih I-sêng, was said to have been done in the "positive" style (*wa tieh*); and the paintings done by the members of the McCartney embassy were "measured paintings" (*chieh hua*).

These sketches of Parish and his associates went far to increase the prestige of Castiglione and his associates and to make their influence permanent. The ferment which these men introduced into artistic circles in China has worked more slowly than that infused into intellectual groups by the scientific method which came with the revision of the calendar according to accurate mathematical rules; but the ferment has been at work and is still working. It would be quite easy for the Western methods of painting to be adopted in China if it were not for the supremacy of calligraphy. A great writer is still the greatest artist, and his paintings are considered subsidiary. This is shown in the recent work of former President Hsü Shih-ch'ang. As long as painting is joined to calligraphy its methods must depend upon brush strokes, but if in the future calligraphy becomes a profession, as it did in the West, and is no longer a *sine qua non* of a literary man there would be a rapid absorption of Western methods of painting which would easily replace and eject the trifling methods now known as "ink amusement" (*mo hsi*). The present tendencies of education are all in the direction of dissociating calligraphy from the necessary equipment of a scholar and of good writers becoming a professional class. If this tendency increases in the rising generation it is certain that the traditional painting methods of China will be modified and will approach nearer to those of the West. To some minds this will be profanation; to others it will be only another evidence of the similarity of principles underlying all forms of culture and of the universality of the appeal of paintings to the highest emotions of man.

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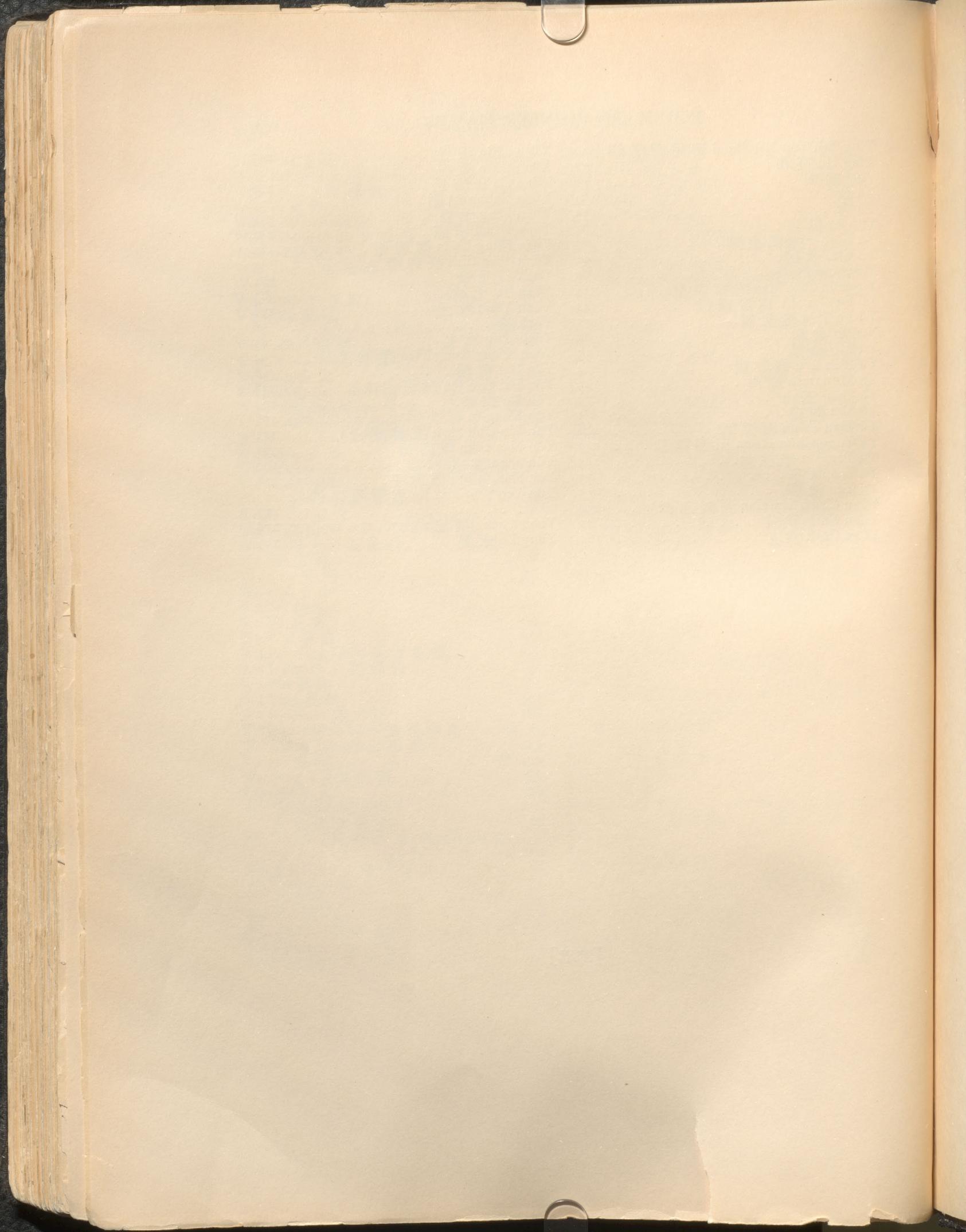
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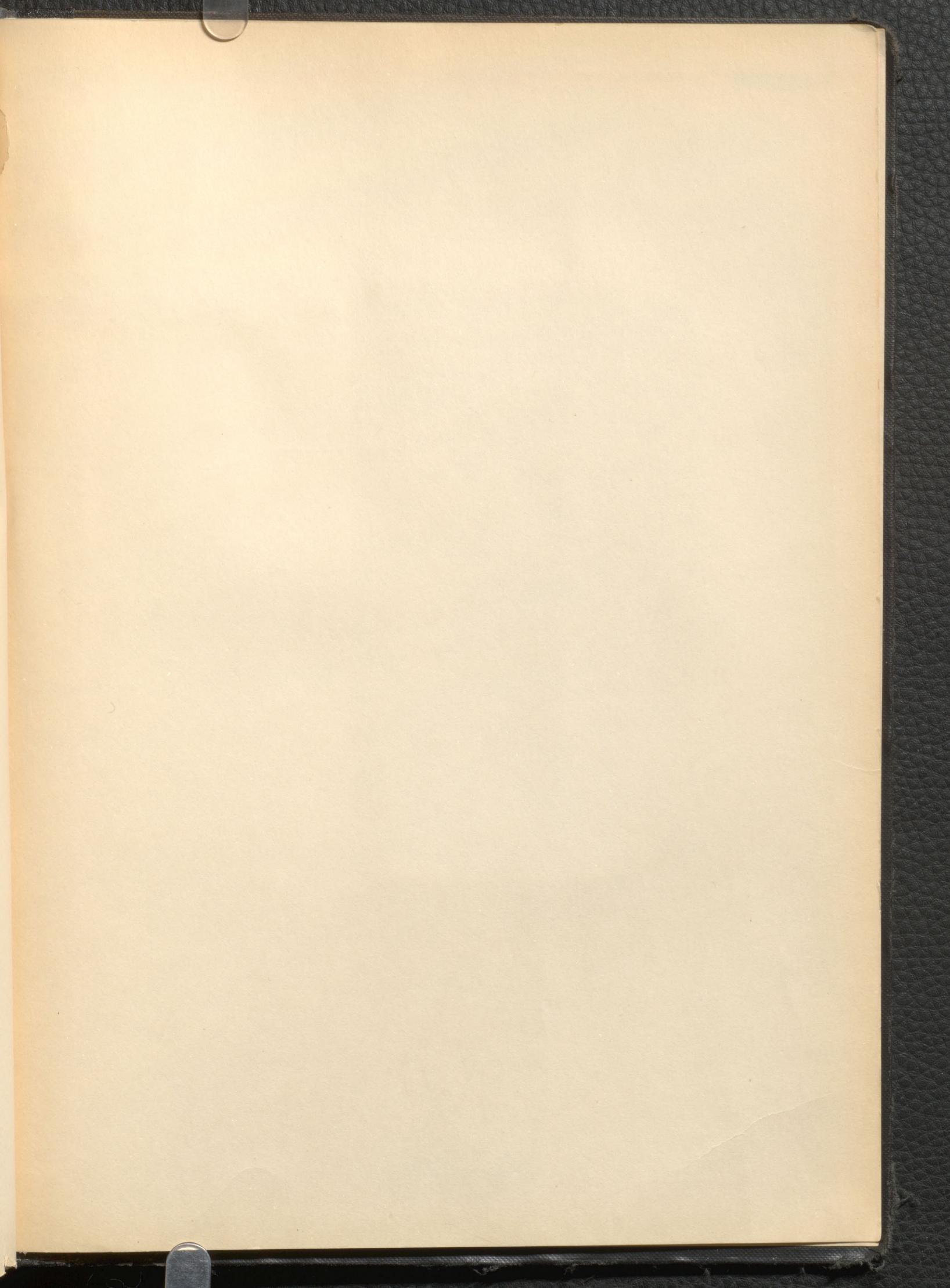
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DATE DUE

DUE	RETURNED
MAY 9 - 1966	MAY 9 - 1966
FEB 23 1966	
NOV - 1 1966	
<i>Nov 15 1966 EPA</i>	<i>Nov 15 1966</i>
JUL 5 1968	JUN 26 1968
DEC 21 1968	DEC 10 1968
BL DECEMBER 1971	BL DEC 4 1971
BL DEC 8 1972	DEC 6 1972
BL JAN 07 1991	DEC 18 1990
BL FEB 18 1991	FEB 06 1991

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